

University of Trento
School in Social Sciences

Doctoral Program in Sociology and Social Research
XXV° Cycle

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**Left outside or trapped in the visible and invisible gate.
Insights into the continuities and discontinuities in the creation of good and
just living in open and gated suburbs of Johannesburg.**

April 2015

Abstract

Starting from the consideration that gated estates and complexes are increasingly becoming part of the urban, peri-urban and rural landscape of many societies undergoing transformation, the aim of this dissertation is to explore what difference it makes to live in an enclosed space in order to understand not only the choice of living in such environments, but also their spatial, social and political implications and manifestations. This work does so by adopting a relational perspective and by comparing two different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, South Africa: a newly built gated golf estate (Eagle Canyon) and an old open suburb (Northcliff). In order to develop insights into the ways in which life in a gated community is related to the life outside, an ethnographic study of three years has been carried on in the gated golf estate and in the open suburb.

This work argues that gated enclaves, internally organized and managed by specific institutions, not only provide the space in which the "good life" is lead, but most importantly set the standard and the terms of this good life and provide a system of justification for it. Putting in dialogue the two suburbs, this dissertation points out that gated estates provide the sace in which an escalation of belonging takes place. The novelty of the study lies in the discovery that the relationship between Northcliff and Eagle Canyon and then between Eagle Canyon and other gated estates is not simply of one between different urban phenomena but, in addition, is one of political scale. Northcliff is to the City what Eagle Canyon is to the nation. In other words, these respective communities instantiate, symbolically, different scales of political community.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank a number of people that have made this project possible and have supported me during the long process.

I am grateful to my advisor Asher Colombo for guiding me and being supportive over the last four years. I spent most of this time in South Africa and Prof. Colombo and I have not had many chances to meet, however I must thank him for being encouraging of my fieldwork and for guiding me during the writing process.

I also wish to thank my co-advisor Ivor Chipkin whom I have met in 2011 before starting my fieldwork. Prof. Chipkin has been a great supporter of my work, he has firstly made me feel at home introducing me to the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI), of which he is executive director. He has helped me with institutional support when needed in Johannesburg and assisted firstly offering a space from which to work at PARI and then including me in the bigger “Emerging Communities Project”.

The research team at PARI is lively and extremely engaging. I wish to thank Sarah Meny-Gibert for having been an excellent research manager, for being curious about my work and engaging with it, Mpho Mohapi and Darshana Bhana for always being available and Idah Makukule for asking me to “go along” with her while doing research in the informal settlement of Zandspruit, only 6 kilometres away from the lavish golf estate of Eagle Canyon where I have conducted fieldwork for one year.

The examiners have provided meaningful comments and have helped me shape this dissertation in a more precise and significant way. Specifically, the comments have helped me understanding my position vis à vis luxurious estates and shape my own views on the relational perspective.

The French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) has awarded me a research grant for conducting research in Johannesburg. I wish to thank IFAS for believing in the importance of this research.

During these four years I have presented parts of this work at various conferences in South Africa and around the world. I particularly wish to thank the “Network on Private Urban Governance” for innovating the study on gated communities and making me part of this network.

All of the presentations, workshops and conferences have been of great help for developing my work. Many thanks to PARI for inviting me to some of these events and for supporting my travels abroad.

I also wish to thank Jackyn Cock at Wits University for being interested in my work and for encouraging me to develop some of the themes starting with the

constitution of a global network: “Golfing the Planet” of which I am the promoter.

When I started this project I didn’t know what living in a gated, walled, contained and secured space meant and I thought it would not be difficult to adjust. Without me knowing, my first encounter with ethnography was in 1999, when I spent a year in Hong Kong during high school. It was an intercultural exchange program and the line of the program was to encourage accepting any cultural difference at school, in the city and with the host family. I didn’t know that what I was going to do was participant observation, and I didn’t know that the experience would be at the base of my passion for cities and metropolises. The division of Hong Kong, its colonial legacy and its patterns of segregation, its mega buildings and enclaves struck me to the extent that most of my work at University has gravitated around life (social, political and cultural) in the city. That experience made me believe that “living with a family” is the best way to conduct participant observation, and that it would not be too difficult to find someone that would open the doors of their home for me. The experience in Johannesburg on the contrary has been an extremely difficult and luckily I have been blessed with a great group of people that have supported my frustrations on the field first and during the writing process later.

While in Johannesburg Sian Byrne has always been an exciting, warm, provoking and engaging friend. We shared many moments at her flat in Yeoville, which, overtime, has also become my home. While sitting at the balcony for long chats and eating sessions, Sian has challenged my views, my ideas, my stands in many different ways and has contributed greatly to my knowledge of South Africa.

During my stay in Johannesburg, the Byrne family has in a way adopted me inviting me to their place along with Sian. Many thanks to Sue and Gavin Byrne for providing me with comfortable and cosy space in Johannesburg and at the farm.

Miriam di Paola has always been there for me, understanding the difficulties of the fieldwork and opening the door of her home anytime I needed a “break”.

I wish to thank Kingu Hamidu Kiula from the “parking” in Yeoville. The parking has been my main hangout while in Yeoville and the space in which I felt I could breathe fresh air after long days of observation. Kingu has contributed greatly to my knowledge of informal economy, ethnic enclaves, but most importantly he “taught” me how to navigate the neighbourhood only through talking and simply doing things together. Getting to know Yeoville has helped me contextualizing my own research and my own knowledge of the city.

I first stepped in South Africa in 2008 when I have lived in the township of Soshanguve. This experience has informed my future interest in gated communities and suburbs. Thshepo firstly introduced me to the township life, to its challenges and to the relationship between the township and the suburb. Part of this research indirectly started at that point.

All along, I have always been in touch and benefited from great support from Beatrice Corvatta and Marina Macorovic and I am grateful I have been able to spend some time with them while writing this project back home. Beatrice provided me with beautiful writing retreat at her place in the countryside. Her affection, encouragement and warmth have really made the difference.

After ten years away from home I have returned to Recanati in November 2013 to finalise writing this dissertation. This has been a daunting experience. After having had to adjust to many different places, I now had to adjust to life at home. My family has accepted such a long absence and has been extremely supportive all along. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to my grand mother who has always encouraged me and made me believe that I could make it. Her strength is of great admiration for me.

Emiliano Polsonetti has been a constant presence in my life, agreed to spend his summer holidays in a cold wintery Johannesburg for three years, has followed this research daily via skype, has listened to every difficulty and helped me overcome challenging moments. We grew up together and this dissertation is also the product of our shared experiences.

Finally, I wish to thank all the respondents, all the residents I have talked to formally and informally, the management of Eagle Canyon, the ward councillors, Jeff Gilmour from ARC for being so open and available.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Introduction	14
1. Chapter One	28
Mapping the City: Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, a golf estate and a suburb in Johannesburg	
1.1. Eagle Canyon: circa March 2011	29
1.2. Northcliff, the secret of Johannesburg: circa December 2011	41
1.3. Garden City, suburbs and gated communities: international and local debates	48
1.3.1. Sub-urban affairs	50
1.3.2. Gated communities: conceptual insights	52
1.4. Johannesburg: a metropolis	58
2. Chapter Two	64
Choosing to live a good life. Theorizing segregation, community and justice from an elite perspective.	
2.1. Living a good life: matters of elitist style	65
2.1.1. The good lifestyle	67
2.2. The good lifestyle in the right socio-spatial system	69
2.2.1. The spatial form of lifestyle: gating, segregation and its legacy	69
2.2.2. Communitarian life	75
2.2.3. Institutional Analysis: institutions and segregation	78
2.2.4. Neoclassical economics: the just city	79
2.3. A synthesis: studying a system	82
3. Chapter Three	84
Open and walled landscape: considerations on the good city.	
3.1. <i>Johannesburg</i> and beyond on the move: understanding lived geographies	86
3.1.1. Feelings about the place: choosing to stay in Northcliff or in Eagle Canyon.	90
3.2. Moving around: giving meaning to distances and movements in the city.	101
3.2.1. Mobility inside the estate: what are the patterns?	102
3.2.2. City and suburbs	103
3.2.3. The township	110
3.2.4. The informal settlement	112
3.2.5. National movements and beyond	114
3.3. Illustrating mechanisms of bordering. Opened and walled landscapes	115

4.	Chapter Four:	117
	On the worth of the groups: contending where the good community stands.	
4.1.	A fake or a real community: a numbing experience or a real one?	120
4.1.1	Branding and promoting community	123
4.2.	New and old: South Africa and the new country	125
4.3.	Homogeneity/heterogeneity: victims of the past, but looking ahead	128
4.4.	Community as leisure or as commitment?	137
4.4.1.	Leisure and apathy: holiday talks and dullness	137
4.5.	Status: being a normal family	147
4.6.	Sewing the thread: the worth of the community	141
5.	Chapter Five	153
	Creating the good bubble: separation and inclusion as intertwined consequences of the good administration	
5.1.	Longing for perfection: efficiency and standards	155
5.1.1.	The (e)state machine: separated administrative praxis as a form of providing perfection	157
5.1.2.	Suburban system: outside of the estate.	165
5.2.	Forging new relationships lulled by the system: the service delivery crisis viewed from the “elite”	169
5.3.	Material implications: adding value to the house	177
5.4.	Symbolic implications. Rehabilitating separation through inclusion	180
5.4.1.	Escalation in belonging: the suburb, the city, the nation	187
5.5.	Conclusion	191
6.	Chapter Six	193
	Crime and the just order: reproducing and longing for authority and predictability but creating and enjoying the good safe space	
6.1.	The social uses of the talk of crime: macabre but in a holiday setting.	195
6.2.	From individual private to communal private: tactics for not losing control in and outside the walls	203
6.3.	Organizing disorder: re-constructing the perfect order	211
6.3.1.	Assessing ordered gender, control and authority	212
6.3.2.	Race makes order and order makes justice	214
6.3.3.	The estate as the nanny: accepting the pre-established and predictability to develop freedom	215
6.4.	Conclusion: discussing the shift to voluntary being controlled to enjoy the just order	218

7. Chapter Seven	219
“I do research.” “Oh research, I see, so what is your business?”	
A guide to becoming resident of a gated and a non-gated suburb in Johannesburg, South Africa	
7.1. Studying the good and just socio-spatial relations in the city: space and time on the move	220
7.2. Phases of the research	222
7.3. Crossing the border of the visible and invisible gate: entering homes and enjoying the lifestyle and coming to grips with the idea of justice	226
7.3.1. Looking for the right gate	227
7.4. Difficulties and frustrations of becoming a resident: the emotions of participation	231
7.5. From Eagle Canyon to Northcliff to Yeoville. Different gates, different city, different protection	234
Conclusions	236
	244
List of References	
Appendix A	261
Appendix B	283
Appendix C	285

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. <i>Eagle Canyon sign and map</i>	31
Figure 2. <i>Free standing house of the Estate. No gates allowed.</i>	34
Figure 3. <i>La Belucia, sectional title complex of Eagle Canyon</i>	35
Figure 4. <i>The external wall</i>	38
Figure 5. <i>View of the dam and of the golf course</i>	39
Figure 6. <i>View of the free standing houses overlooking the golf course</i>	39
Figure 7. <i>View of a sectional title complex</i>	39
Figure 8. <i>Private swimming pool overlooking the dam</i>	40
Figure 9. <i>View from the ridge. Private tennis court in Northcliff</i>	46
Figure 10. <i>Free standing house in Northcliff. Private gates and security</i>	47
Figure 11. <i>Northcliff from the ridge. Private green</i>	45
Figure 12. <i>Travelling from the suburbs towards the city centre</i>	106
Figure 13. <i>A view of the city centre from the outer suburbs</i>	106
Figure 14. <i>The clubhouse of Eagle Canyon</i>	124
Figure 15. <i>Home Owners Association Administration structure and contacts</i>	160
Figure 16. <i>Newsletter of Eagle Canyon. November 2011</i>	185
Figure 17. <i>Newsletter of Eagle Canyon. November 2011</i>	186
Figure 18. <i>Security in Eagle Canyon vs Security in Northcliff</i>	206
Figure 19. <i>Private security company in Northcliff and advertisement. Control Room of Eagle Canyon.</i>	207

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1. <i>Map of Johannesburg</i>	28
Map 2. <i>Map of Eagle Canyon</i>	37
Map 3. <i>Map of Northcliff</i>	45
Map 4. <i>Gated communities in Northern Johannesburg. Taken from Landman and Badenhorst (2012)</i>	60
Map 5. <i>The late apartheid city. Adapted from Simon (1989)</i>	88
Map 6. <i>The late post-apartheid city. Adapted from Christopher (2001)</i>	
Map 7. <i>Movements from Eagle Canyon</i>	104
Map 8. <i>Movements from Northcliff</i>	105
Map 9. <i>Movements from Eagle Canyon and Northcliff. A comparison</i>	105

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. <i>Types of Gated Communities in South Africa.</i>	61
Table 2. <i>Gated Communities distribution in South Africa.</i>	61
Table 3. <i>Relevant concepts for the study of gated communities and suburbs.</i>	63
Table 4. <i>The terms of the worth, being better and how it comes to be justified</i>	120
Table 5. <i>Census results 2011</i>	134
Table 6. <i>Families defines themselves as normal in both areas. Being just a normal family</i>	150
Table 7. <i>Overview of services requested in the two areas and the relevant institutions called to deal with them</i>	170
Table 8. <i>Different features of the two areas: the creation of value through lifestyle</i>	178
Table 9. <i>Phases of the Research</i>	223
Table 10. <i>Social sphere: being good and worthy</i>	224
Table 11. <i>Institutional/Administrative sphere: being efficient and committed</i>	225

LIST OF BOXES

Box 1. <i>Fieldnote Managers Meeting</i>	161
Box 2. <i>Fieldnote Board Committee Meeting</i>	162
Box 3. <i>Fieldnote Body Corporate Meeting</i>	163

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AGM Annual General Meeting
ANC African National Congress
ARC Association of Residential Communities
CBD Central Business District
CID Common Interest Development
GC gated communities
EGM Extraordinary General Meeting
GCRO Gauteng City Region Observatory
GEAR Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GPL Gauteng Planning Commission
HOA Homeowners Association
NPM New Public Management

Introduction

“Today on the news is a murder in a gated community in Pretoria. Oscar Pistorius has killed his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp. Living in a highly secured estate the athlete has justified his shooting by expressing his fear of a criminal intruder. This is aptly linked to the work I have conducted so far. Fear of crime, macabre stories, guns and violence, need of self-protection in a highly secured estate that promotes the good life. This proves precisely my point that when looking at gated communities in South Africa the question of crime should be read as only one of the primary motivations for moving in, that understanding the phenomenon of gated communities is not only about drawing a direct relationship between rates of crime and secured walls.”

Fieldnote
February 14th, 2013

Driving in Johannesburg can be a daunting experience, especially if one is not used to a diverse and spread suburban landscape. Take, for example, the experience of driving and entering Eagle Canyon and entering Northcliff. The first one is a golf estate with a walled perimeter and electric fences defining the entrance that opens to more than 1200 residential units located around a windy golf course and it is governed and managed by a Homeowner Association of which its residents are mandatory members. The other is an open suburb, with no straightforward entrance, with open access and blurred physical boundaries and it is not governed by an association of which residents have to become members. At first sight they are very different, the first one is isolated while the second is integrated in the city. They are different in structure, organization, and outlook, yet they share some common traits. Living in the two areas is also a different experience. Eagle Canyon is located in a not particularly glamorous area of Johannesburg, it is very extravagant and lavish and it is where, according to its residents and those who describe it, the new money is. Academic literature refers to it as a gated community; people that live there call it “the estate”. The other, Northcliff, is an old suburb of the city, it is located within the ring of Johannesburg and it is very established. Its residents call it “the secret of Johannesburg”. Despite their differences, they share a connection as many of the residents of the golf estate come from Northcliff. These two areas could be read in contrast with one another – they could be compared; they could be put in dialogue or read one against the other. Two communities inhabit those spaces. What kind of communities are they? Do they differ? Is the presence of the Homeowners Association (HOA) contributing to the creation of a different way of living in the country and, is it a group defining institution? Is the defined boundary of the estate contributing to an increased segregation of the city? Or is it only a stronger manifestation of it? What is the role of crime? Have these two areas a different experience of the city? Literature on gated communities sees the mushrooming of luxurious estates as the consequence of periods of transitions, transformation and democratization globally. What does it say in a country such as South Africa where segregation and separation has been the main political

doctrine for over 50 years? But most importantly, the mushrooming of estates, associated with the phenomenon of private urban governance, is not only prominent in South Africa, but globally. What does the South African experience help reveal about gating, new forms of communities and the good life?

This research project aims at unfolding the relationship between social processes and spatial forms in the contemporary city drawing on ethnographic research in Johannesburg, South Africa. The objective of the work is to understand how the idea of the good lifestyle is developed, lived and considered as just, under a regime of corporate management of an enclosed space such as that of the gated community, and in this particular case of Eagle Canyon. This entails a comprehensive study on the one hand of the relationships between residents that live in such a space and institutions that manage it, and on the other hand it requires positioning this kind of space within the bigger societal context and especially in dialogue with other parts of the city. Attention will be devoted to the spatial, social and institution/political lives of these two particular neighbourhoods. The research will answer the question of how life changes and how it is reproduced in different urban contexts -yet within the same city - under different regimes of spatial assessments, organization of the social life, ownership of property and institutional organization. Looking at these changes, this work will articulate how the idea of leading a just life is developed in a gated community, and specifically a gated golf estate and how it does not only speak to local dynamics, but to international ones as well. In contemporary cities one of the major registered trends globally is the proliferation of urban enclaves of different kinds, size and wealth. These are read as the manifestation of an increasing divide between the rich and the poor and as the expression of the flight of the successful. While the trend is global, great criticism arises in countries where the gap of wealth is high. South Africa, a country in which the Gini coefficient is 0.7¹ is not an exception to this trend. Luxurious gated communities are considered important actors of transformation as they mutate and affect the urban fabric, yet this is not only a strictly urban change, it is an urban revolution that entails social, political and institutional change, creating new spaces that contain new communities. It is precisely looking at these urban manifestations that it is possible to understand much of the contemporary social and political mutations. Understanding how these new gated enclaves² work and what they represent is impossible if not done by adopting a relational and comparative method.

This dissertation is grounded on relational ethnographic observation of two suburbs of the city of Johannesburg, an old open suburb and a new-gated golf estate. These two spaces share similar socio-demographic characteristics, they are both predominantly white spaces and they belong to the same income bracket. The official difference is to be found in the organization: one is structured as a gated golf estate and the other structured as an open suburb. However, looking at them relationally reveals that the organizational differences

¹ This coefficient measures the wealth distribution in a country. The coefficient varies from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (total inequality).

² In the course of this work I use gated community/gated estate and gated settlement interchangeably, bearing in mind that the phenomenon is varied and diverse.

have an impact on the ways in which residents look, describe, perceive and judge each other.

This work argues that gated enclaves, internally organized and managed by specific institutions, such as that of the Homeowners Association, not only provide the space in which the good life is lead, but most importantly set the standard and the terms of this good life. Looking at them relationally, thus in constant dialogue with the open suburb, reveals that they provide a system of institutionalization and formalization of what is considered to be the just life by its residents. Further to providing the space in which the good life is performed and experienced, and to setting the standard to it, it provides the possibility of adopting strategies for the residents to justify and explain their choice of living in such a space. Thus, against the view on gated communities as entities of separation from the city and detachment from it, I argue that gated enclaves ought to be studied as systems of justification and neutralization of a form of distinction and difference. To the visible collective gate of the estate is linked an invisible feeling of attachment and belonging to the suburb, to the city and to the country. Gated estates are then not mere bubbles that aspire to be independent; in fact looking at city spaces relationally these gated bubbles become blurred and fully integrated in the city system. Starting from a relational approach to the understanding of the city, putting in dialogue residents and institutions of the golf estate with those of the suburb and operating a comparison within these two milieus, I offer a phenomenological understanding of the creation of a standard of good life in what is perceived to be a just city by a specific group of residents. This is borne out by the corporate way of living promoted and fostered by the administration of elitist gated communities (in this case a golf estate). This relational approach linked to the comparative method offers a system of reconceptualization of conventional concepts of polarization, segregation and distance (these being the first ones to be employed when talking about gated communities and Johannesburg). On the spatial level it helps map a social geography of the city to which notions of community, transformation and belonging emerge as of primary importance. Despite similar visions of the city and the nation of the two spaces, the type of organization of the golf estate (characterized by a physically enclosed space and the administration by the Homeowners Association) shapes the idea of living in a new and modern space, of living in what can be called a “good communitarian lifestyle”, in a space vested in transformation and the face of the new country, thus inhabited by the committed South Africans, the ones who accept to live in a space where race is neutralized by class homogeneity.

The golf estate in question endorses the vision of a new democratic country, where everyone has access to its internal resources and the “just city” is then about a silent revolt of the elite that creates inequality but lives it as just and democratic, creating an idea of themselves as “worth” and “better” by virtue of the lifestyle that they feel entitled to. The tensions between the two spaces then play out with regards to the mutual perception: despite similar ways of living, the difference between the two spaces ought to be found in the symbolic and invisible boundaries.

In particular I claim that:

1. Spaces within the city ought to be read and understood relationally (Hart 2006) and not as discrete and monolithic entities. The debate on gated communities has recently shifted to a debate on urban gating, soft boundaries and networks of affluence (Bagaeen and Uduku forthcoming 2015). In order to understand better the ways in which this urban artefact is not just a monolithic entity in the city but it is entirely embedded in its system, a comparative approach is needed (McFarlane 2010).

2. A relational and comparative ethnography in which both temporal and spatial axes are considered allows for a critical engagement with the phenomenon of gating and with the object of the gated community. It unearths and discloses the ways in which gates work as visible and invisible tools in the city and it shows that spatially, socially and politically Eagle Canyon ought to be read in line with the institution of the garden city first and then the suburb. Analysing and studying the gated golf estate following this reasoning deprovincializes the world of gated estates and it shows that estates are not a mere manifestation of a medieval modernity as Nezar and Roy (2006) have claimed. Looking at the South African case of Johannesburg, Northcliff and Eagle Canyon with such a historical lens shows that this city and this country are fully embedded in global dynamics and that their institutions (retraceable back to the garden city) shape social, spatial and political continuities and discontinuities. The gated estate is thus fully entangled in broader societal changes and it becomes both the consequence and the expression of transformation.

3. The relevance and the impact of estates is better understood asking an institutional question. The aspiration of living the “good life” and being good, deserving people is materially produced and maintained by the Homeowners Association, which is thus the governing and administrative body and is the medium through which the idea of the good life and its justification is achieved. Thanks to the analysis of the organization, I am able to show that the presence of the HOA determines the difference between the suburb and the estate, allowing it to go beyond the superficial, yet visible differences provided by the presence of the gate and of the wall. It is precisely the absence of such a comprehensive institution in the suburb that makes the difference in the way notions such as the city, the community and belonging to the country are perceived and lived.

4. Contrary to models that see the world of segregation, separation and retreat answering the question of how the good life and its justification is facilitated by the HOA, the world of the gated estate is not only a bubble detached from the rest of society, but also a system that provides the residents with the tools to express a form of citizenship and love for the country, thus the tools to prove and show the “worth” of the group.

5. Following Lamont’s suggestion that the “worth” of a group or a person is

to be found in their morals and their values, this work stresses that the corporate management of the estate provides the tools of distinction and of justification of the “good” elitist lifestyle in a highly unequal country. If often there are no material differences between the residents of the two areas, there is controversy over who is the good group, and this is based on the idea that the estate embodies the good and just city, community and country.

6. In South Africa and in Johannesburg living in a luxurious golf estate means inhabiting a new space where new forms of communities are created and where a new form of engagement to the country, from an elite perspective, is performed. The creation of the good life works differently in the two areas. It is precisely looking at the phenomenon like this that provides a way of looking at the country and continuity with apartheid in a new fashion. It shows characteristics of order, gender dynamics and so on in a new fashion – continuities and discontinuities. The same institutions regulate people’s lives.

Addressing the above claims, this dissertation contributes to two main debates. On the one side it contributes to framing differently the world of gated neighborhoods and it shows that this needs to be related to its predecessor, the suburb. If gate communities are seen as spaces of self-segregation and as neoliberal spaces, it is important to look at them not as exceptional spaces but as

Demonstrating that the golf estate does not produce a geographically more segregated space than that of the open suburb, this dissertation works with the notion of the symbolic boundaries and of the construction and perception of the “worth” in order to unpack how the system of justification for living in such an environment is built. One of the main contributions to the literature on gated communities is that thanks to the organization of the estate, its residents are able to forge an escalation in belonging to the city, to the suburb and the nation, launching the creation of a community of commitment to the country. In this case the estate does not figure only as the neoliberal space where residents feel at ease and enjoy a perfect administration. In fact it is precisely thanks to this perfection that the residents exit the city to re-enter the country. Belonging to the country is then evaluated and felt not considering the cohesion of the internal communities elements of attachment to the country are linked to characteristics that define contemporary South Africa. More than contributing to debates on gated communities, such as approach also opens new ways to study elites, their attachment to the place and their way of life. It forges a link between the meaning ascribed to the “worth” and the better which is not only linked to the lifestyle, to patterns of consumption or manners but it is also embedded in dynamics of inclusion in the country.

As a way of introducing the world of gated communities in South Africa and the argument that I have outlined above, I briefly consider the case of Oscar Pistorius. While the final verdict is possibly controversial, in South Africa the case is loud and speaks to racial, gender and political issues. On the 14th of February 2013 one of the most exclusive gated estates of Pretoria is on the news for being the theatre of a “shoot to kill” scenario. Famous athlete Oscar Pistorius

shoots and kills his girlfriend in his residence. He firstly declares that he thought she was a robber and that he shot as self-defence (Mail and Guardian 14th February 2013. A special report of the case could be retrieved at www.mg.co.za/report/oscar-pistorius-shooting). Let us consider the environment. Pistorius lives in one of the most secured gated estates in Gauteng, admission to which is restricted to residents and visitors are admitted only upon invitation and proof of identification. It is very unlikely that a robber could have made it through. The experience is symptomatic of a different paranoia, of which crime is merely a scapegoat, used at all times to describe and justify actions, violence and gruesome stories. Without entering into the rich details of the event, a few preliminary considerations could be made. The relationship between gated estates (highly secured) and perception, experience and facts on crime is not a straightforward one. Despite sophisticated mechanisms of surveillance and control, the question of crime and the linked urge to self-defence is immediately mobilized. This first consideration leads to a question: what would have happened had Pistorius lived in an open suburb, where such a tight, systematic and enclosed mechanism of security was not in place? The same rhetoric emerges in cases of domestic violence in free standing houses outside secured estates (in fact similar cases have been reported in open suburbs of Johannesburg where domestic violence has been justified by the threat to personal safety). One difference though: in the open suburb there is no record of who comes in and out of the house, when and how the perpetrator has approached the residence and entered it. On the contrary the system of the Homeowners Association monitors and regulates; yet it does not have control over people's actions in their private spaces. The monitored space of the estate creates a collective way of dealing with the space, but concedes a degree of freedom to their residents that, under certain circumstances, can act as if they were in a self-regulated environment, such as that of the open suburb, where the absence of an institutional and continuous entry check gives more eligibility to self-protection. The case of Pistorius is particularly felt in South Africa as it is one in which the articulation of race, gender and space come together and express the main concerns of South African society. It shows that the life inside estates represents and is entirely connected to broader societal matters. This episode itself warns us against a mere reading of estates as spaces of retreat due to high crime rates. On the contrary it shows the lines of continuity and difference with the suburb. This piece of work aims at unearthing the inner dynamics of gated estates and to relate them to those outside of it.

Having outlined the main themes of this work I now locate the argument within the literature and debates on gated communities and lifestyle, also addressing the relevance of South Africa in studying such phenomenon. Throughout the work I rely on a vast array of literature, which at times might not seem relevant to the research question. For instance in Chapter Three I conduct a history of the urban planning of Johannesburg, which is helpful to understand how the estate is in line of continuity with the suburb and how the idea of the "good" and just life in South Africa is extremely linked to its predecessors, the suburb and the garden city before it.

The contemporary city and Johannesburg: continuities and discontinuities

Among urban sociologists, urban planners and political scientists it is now common knowledge that the contemporary city globally has been undergoing great transformation. The expansion and the growth of metropolises, especially in Latin America, Africa and Asia are of great interest as they feature new forms of space, communities and governance. One of the most relevant urban artefacts in the contemporary city is that of the gated enclave (or gate community, or complex, or estate), a form of enclosed residential area, often self-contained and managed by the institution of the Homeowners Association. In the North of the world such urban conglomerations have been documented vastly since the Nineties (Blakely and Snyder 1999; Le Goix 2006, Webster 2006) as spatial, social and institutional novelty linked to phenomenon of transformation. These are also seen as the manifestation of the divided city both in the North and in the South of the world (Davis 1990, Caldeira 2000, Graham and Marvin 2011). In the context of the divided and unequal city, the affluent gated estate is seen as the space of retreat and flight of the successful, thus a separated space from the city.

However, in countries such as South Africa (and by extension any other country that has undergone deep economic and political transformation), the above interpretation might be too narrow. In South Africa for instance the industry of luxurious estates has grown dramatically (see Chapter Three), and for many residents it becomes the only possible choice of habitation. This suggestion becomes even more relevant when looking at middle class complexes (that follow a similar pattern of governance)³. As many respondents have stated: “here, the estate is the future”. However, scant literature focuses on understanding the position of these settlements vis à vis the broader society. Put differently, the gated settlement is usually seen as a “bubble”, as the result of neoliberal markets all over the world, and especially in newly emergent economies such as in Egypt (Singerman and Amar 2009), Turkey (Candan and Kollouglu 2008), China (Lee and Zhu 2006), India (Roy and Ong 2011) and Brazil (Caldeira 2000). Following this line in South Africa gated urban settlements are seen as spaces in which private provision of services (such as security, efficiency, cleanliness) is granted as a private club service. While this interpretation is valid, reducing the understanding of such spaces as mere sites of retreat and as bubbles linked to the fear of crime and to need of efficiency might be misleading and at times superficial, as it limits the analysis to predictable findings.

Mckenzie (1996), providing an institutional analysis of private urban governance offers tools to think of the continuity between the institution of the garden city with that of the homeowners association. It is precisely in this spirit that the present work has set out to understand the phenomenon of the gated community relationally, thus comparing it to the suburb and relating it to the garden city.

³In Gauteng alone (the South African province in which Johannesburg is located), more than 30 000 housing schemes under the governance of the sectional title have been registered between 1988 and 2011.

If gated communities are read as vehicles of spatial segregation (as the critical urban theory approach suggests: Davis 1990, Grahman and Marvin 2011), and as spaces in which the longing for community is combined with the administrative and marketing organisational structures that support this notion (communitarian approach: Putnam 2000), and as the “club good bubble” where residents rationally choose to enjoy a good lifestyle thanks to the possibility of consuming and buying private goods or services (rational choice approach: Webster 2002), then there is the need to critically analyse the relevance of the gate, the community and the bubble, hence the relational perspective (described below).

Johannesburg configures itself as an important space from which to look at such phenomenon because of the huge presence of gated settlements and for its established pattern of segregation, which started with the reproduction of the London garden city (and its connection to the Empire) in the creation of wealthy suburbs, which have now also taken the shape of gated settlements. South Africa is also relevant as the country has undergone great transformation due to the transition from apartheid to democracy, which has induced and provoked a reshaping of the social geography of the city, where in the name of safety, walls and gates have come to be part of the contemporary landscape and have come to represent the good, fair and just life. In South Africa the mushrooming of gated developments is in everyday debate, as it often seen, especially when referring to luxurious developments, as the place of retreat of the middle-upper class, a wealthy, mostly white group of people who are trying to cope with the new, transforming country, in which the divide between the wealthy and the poor is increasingly more evident, both socially and spatially.

Elements of the good and worthy lifestyle in the contemporary city

Contemporary urban conglomerations around the world seem to share a common increase in private urban governance, which in most cases materializes in the presence of gated communities. That of the gated community is at first glance a self-explanatory phenomenon: this characteristic is provided by the two concepts of the gate and the community and it is often misleading. In order to better understand this world, this project delves into the meaning of living in such spaces. Luxurious gated estates are nonetheless spaces and institutions that provide a good lifestyle, of which the gate, the notion of community and that of efficiency are crucial aspects.

If groups define themselves as better according to values and morals (Lamont 1992), then it is crucial to understand what are these values and morals and on what they rest. The space of the affluent gated settlement, as expression of an economically divided city and of transformation, ought to be read through the lens of the residents. From an elite perspective the “good” lifestyle is that to which individuals are entitled by virtue of their personal capacity to buy that lifestyle (Binkley 2007), and which is acceptable as just. In this work I use the notion of elite perspective in order to address groups and categories standing at the apex of societies, subsuming all sorts of upper groups (Daloiz 2010, p.2). I develop this notion looking specifically at two middle upper class groups of

Johannesburg. I specifically address symbolic and material aspects of these two groups and how their privileged position informs their idea of the “good” and the “just”. The gate and the walls are the most visible forms of segregation and separation. As such they ought to be analysed in their different forms. This work, adopting a comparison and relational method, sets out to understand the role of the walls (both of individual houses and of estates, visible and invisible) in creating the good-lived space. These spatial characteristics are associated with the notion of the city, both spatially and symbolically (Chapter Three). The community that inhabits the spaces could be natural or created by the marketing forces (Freie 1998, Bosman 2007). It is racially and socially homogeneous and managed by an institution that at the same time makes it a bubble and a site in which the love of the country is manifested.

I define the notions of the good and just space (which links to city and segregation), of the good and just community (which links to communitarianism and rational choice) and of the good bubble (which links to the administration and relation to the suburb, the city and the nation), according to the ways in which goodness and justice are created and interiorized by the residents. This is informed by their belonging to an elite group, racially homogeneous (mostly white) and by them living in a society undergoing institutional, social and spatial transformation.

Thus, the gated estate is studied as a system created by a container (the gate and the space), a community and a managing institution. As noted above, I focus in on how the “good” lifestyle of the gated estate is understood and lived as just by its residents. If elites are the ones who retain control over resources (Khan 2012a) and who are thus able to enjoy the lifestyle of the gated community, they also need to justify their position vis a vis the broader society. These aspects are analysed critically and relationally.

Critical and relational ethnography. Two suburbs in dialogue: a limitation in scope?

The work has been carried out by conducting a critical ethnography (see Chapter 7 for a detailed methodological analysis). Comparison and relationality in Johannesburg have not just been a method of study thanks to which I have been able to reconfigure the world of gated communities and suburbs. They also became a way of living, as in my daily observations and daily life I have adopted a relational approach to the city thanks to a deep ethnographic engagement with the city in its entirety. This has meant not only moving within the different suburbs of the city, but also understanding their position both historically and spatially. Following Hart:

Critical ethnographies and methods of relational comparison provide tools for reconfiguring area studies to challenge imperial visions of the world; for illuminating power-laden processes of constitution, connection, and disconnection;

and for identifying slippages, openings, contradictions, and possibilities for alliances... Critical ethnography and relational comparison share close political and analytical affinities with sociologist Michael Burawoy's (2000) project of global ethnography. Yet I want to suggest how an explicit deployment of critical conceptions of spatiality can extend and enrich global ethnography...critical ethnography and relational comparison can help to illuminate such understandings in a way that may contribute to forging connections across diverse but interrelated arenas of struggle (2006, p. 977-98)

Hart suggests that thinking relationally is linked to thinking critically, thus it enables us to contextualize the analysis into broader systems. The work presented also draws on's suggestion of renewing critical ethnography by moving beyond the atemporal perspective:

"Several of the traditional areas of urban ethnography are stalled, repeating more or less the same findings and making diminishing contributions to urban sociology and social science more generally. There is a good reason for the current dilemma. Substantive advances now depend on bringing time more centrally into ethnographic research,.. It is time to move beyond the atemporal, fly-on-the-wall perspective of the situationally specific participant observer to see the meaning of the current situation within the longer-term framework of a participant's biography as he or she moves from one arena of situated interaction to another, always aware of what in situ co-respondents cannot fully know, that what is currently happening has retroactive and prospective meanings based on the overarching trajectories of his or her own social life" (Katz 2010, p.285-286)

As the Pistorius case shows, the systems put in place by the estate speak greatly to broader societal matters and the historical perspective helps to unfold the connection further. Following Hart's suggestion this work looks relationally at the city of Johannesburg, and following Katz's theme, it adopts a temporal comparison that helps understanding the continuities and discontinuities between the two areas. A note on how I understand the relational perspective and ethnography is here required. The relational approach used in this dissertation is mainly directed at unlocking and de-constructing the social, spatial and political meaning and connotation of a golf estate through the experiences of the residents through ethnographic observation. Following Desmond (2014) a relational approach "gives ontological primacy not to groups or places, but to configurations of relations" (554), so that the point of fieldwork is to unpack a system of relations. In Desmond words: "a relational approach incorporates fully into the ethnographic sample at least two types of actors or agencies occupying different positions within the social space and bound together in a relationship of mutual dependence or struggle" (554). Desmond assesses that two types of actors or agencies occupying different positions are needed: in the case of this dissertation the residents of the two areas occupy two different positions as they are embedded in different systems of habitation, even though they share the same socio-economic condition. Yet, I have also engaged with other actors with

which the two groups of residents interact, notably associations such as the Community Policing Forum, the Homeowners Association and people that occupy other spaces of the city. As Mische (2008), conducting fieldwork in Brazil, states: “I did not simply want to understand the characteristics of organizations, nor of the individuals who belonged to them...but rather to examine the intersection of multiple networks—student, religious, NGO, antidiscrimination, professional, and business, as well as partisan—in a changing field” (p. 8). The networks that I have mostly considered are those linked to the organization of the suburbs and their institutional, social and spatial connection to the rest of the suburb, the city and the nation. Starting from the ecology of the field (the two suburbs), I have focussed on the internal organization and on the connection between the two suburbs. Drawing from this connection I have been able to address broader societal changes and ways of looking at the city.

Structure of the dissertation

The structure of the dissertation is based on a comparative and relational method to the study of the city. In the course of the dissertation I elaborate how the estate provides the space for leading the good life and how it offers a system of justification for living such life. I elaborate on how the system of justification is based on the unfolding and the elaboration of the “worth” of the two groups thanks to the action of the Homeowners Association. I elaborate how the “good” life and the “worth” is better understood looking at the ways in which the residents of the estate forge a community of commitment to the country. It is thanks to the constant dialogue between the gated estate and the open suburb that the “worth” and the feeling of inclusion and patriotism are created by the residents of the estate. To start delving into the work, **Chapter One** sets out the context of the study, introducing the notions of the suburb and of the gated community, then outlining the comparative method and the relational perspective. The chapter provides a mapping of the city of Johannesburg following a socio-spatial historical fashion. I describe the two areas following the chronology of the fieldwork first and following a historical perspective later. I trace the spatial-institutional lines of continuity between the suburb and the gated community in South Africa and globally, namely the ideal of the garden city. I address global debates and how they play out in South Africa and in Johannesburg. The garden city is described as the embryonic idea of the gated community and in this particular case, of the estate. In outlining the connection between the garden city, the suburb and estate I show that the social, political and architectural history of Johannesburg is linked to and affected by institutions, urban planning and social patterns of the north of the world. From London to Johannesburg, the notion of the garden city is the basis of how the city has been built and lived. I show how Johannesburg historically has not been isolated and how its current aspiration of becoming an African world class city (and of which luxurious estates are the vehicle and manifestation) has got deep historical connections to the suburbs, organized following the model of the garden city, thus of a European model of organization of space and social/political life. This project shows the space of the gated community and of

the suburb as an elite space (given the context of the golf estate in Johannesburg in which the observation has taken place) and it aims to unfold the effects and the consequences of a corporate way of living.

Having set the context, the following chapter explores some of the connections between the concept of the gated community and that of segregation, the just city, the lifestyle and creation of standards. In **Chapter Two** I analyse some of the concepts that emerge from the study of suburbs and gated communities both globally and in South Africa. In doing so, I blend literature on elite, the good lifestyle and gated communities. I introduce the idea of justness and entitlement to the good life and provide tools that help read the space of the gated community as a system. Linked to questions of segregation, transformation and equality in the city, is the idea of the just city and the just life to which residents feel entitled. In discussing literature on lifestyle I point out the importance of studying elite spaces as they set the standard of the good life. The second part of the chapter elaborates further some of the previous insights and their role in creating an idea of justice from the perspective of the elite. Literature on gated communities and gating stresses the spatial, social and political causes and consequences of this form of habitation. Following this distinction, I provide an analysis of the connection between gates (visible and invisible), walls and spatial segregation patterns thanks to the trope of the medieval modernity and to transformation; I then move to an analysis of the notion of community and social life complicating the idea that estates are spaces of sociability, thus challenging the communitarian approach to the explanation of these urban artefacts. In addressing the tension between communitarian explanations and individual ones, I move to the acknowledgment of institutional factors and their strong impact on the choice of living in such spaces. Looking at how institutions such as the Homeowners Association represent the “club good”, I move to exposing some of the neoclassical approaches that see residency in gated spaces as the consequence of a rational choice. I conclude suggesting that the space of the gated community ought to be understood as a system fully integrated in the broader society.

From **Chapter Three** onwards I elaborate how and in what terms the system put in place by the management of the golf estate represents not only the ideal space, but also the prototype of the just space. “Open and Walled Landscape: considerations of the good city” (Chapter Three) is a first step to the understanding of the system and it contends the golf estate shapes a vision of the city and the expectations of what an ideal city is based on – its standards (nice internal landscape, well maintained gardens, regular architecture: it all gives a sense of order). In the case of Johannesburg it creates a different way of looking at the city. It gives the idea of a new and modern space, where tradition can be observed, but in the private space. In this chapter I introduce the different residents of the two areas and how they feel about Northcliff and Eagle Canyon. After describing the characteristics that make a space liveable, in terms of niceness and importance of the landscape and readability of the space, I delve into the patterns of movement of residents of both areas. It will be shown that overall residents know quite well the areas they live in and that their knowledge of the city is quite similar. What differs is the idea of the city and of the “good city”. The relationship between the suburb and the golf estate is then elaborated

and I argue that the golf estate somehow reproduces the suburb. This chapter shows how the collective wall of the estate does not necessarily deepen spatial segregation as movements within the city are very similar in the two areas. However, what differs is the way space is lived and its position within the city and the city-region. In this chapter I show that the gate and the corporate space do not necessarily produce a different knowledge of the city, however it produces a different social and political meaning to be associated to the space. Working with the notion of the “established and the outsider” by Elias (1965) I argue that the pride of being established for the residents of the old suburb of Northcliff is received as a potential threat by the residents of Eagle Canyon who counterpart this pride by defining their space as new, modern and well maintained.

Moving from the spatial characteristic of the two areas, in **Chapter Four** I continue talking of how the space of the golf estate creates and provides the space for constituting the “good and worthy” community. This chapter shows that both communities (of the suburb and of the estate) adopt strategies to prove their value and their entitlement to live in such spaces. It argues that these strategies are connected to some of the salient values of South African contemporary society, it thus addresses the links between the estate, the suburb and the city. Addressing the community question, this chapter also challenges the naive communitarian approach to the study of gated communities and it stresses how one of the most important aspects in creating the difference between the two areas is the urge to express each group’s better position within South African society. In Northcliff the “worth” is determined by values such as homogeneity, being real and sober, while Eagle Canyon claims to carry old and new values, thus more “worthy” as a community than the one of Northcliff. In this chapter I argue that the estate provides the space in which the worth of the community is contended and created through the action of the Homeowners Association.

In **Chapter Five** I move to a stricter institutional analysis of the two areas. The golf estate aspires to be independent but wants to be acknowledged as part of the city and the nation. Its management (equal to that of a company) is excellent and efficient and this is possible thanks to a high level of compliance to rules and regulations by the residents. This is facilitated by the nature of the space (confined), the community as leisure and as commitment and the meticulous organization put in place to manage the community inside and institutional relationships with the outside. On the other side the suburb is not able to accomplish full efficiency due to its less formal organization and its deeper subordination to local municipalities. This creates antagonism between the suburb and the golf estate. Literature on gated communities and private urban governance refers to it as a “retreat”. However the notion of retreat is challenged in this chapter. The aim of the chapter is twofold. I firstly describe the organization of the two areas and their connections showing that the “good” administration of the golf estate is a continuum of the good administration of the suburb during apartheid. Stressing institutional continuities and discontinuities I address two main implications of the good and efficient administration: a material one and a symbolic one. The first one is about the idea of “good” investment, and the second is linked to how the efficient administration manages

the space for a different scale of citizenship. The estate configures itself as the space in which loyalty to the country is expressed, and shows how the community that inhabits it is good and “worthy”.

In **Chapter Six** I move to the description of the crime question. I again show the historical links between the suburb and the estate and I show how the estate is a loyal reproduction of a system of control, protection and authority that in South Africa was experienced during apartheid and that was fully experienced in suburbs such as Northcliff. The chapter shows how with the choice of living the good and just life comes a fundamental shift: moving into estates residents decide to be controlled according to the very similar patterns to which they were subjugated in the past, stressing again lines of continuity and discontinuity with the past. The invisibility of the suburban gate during apartheid has been replaced by the visible wall and gate of the estate.

Finally, **Chapter Seven**, the methodological section, is a compendium to the reader to the steps, feelings and moments of the research. It shows the difficulty of living in gated and non-gated spaces and of interacting with a group of people I have never felt empathy for.

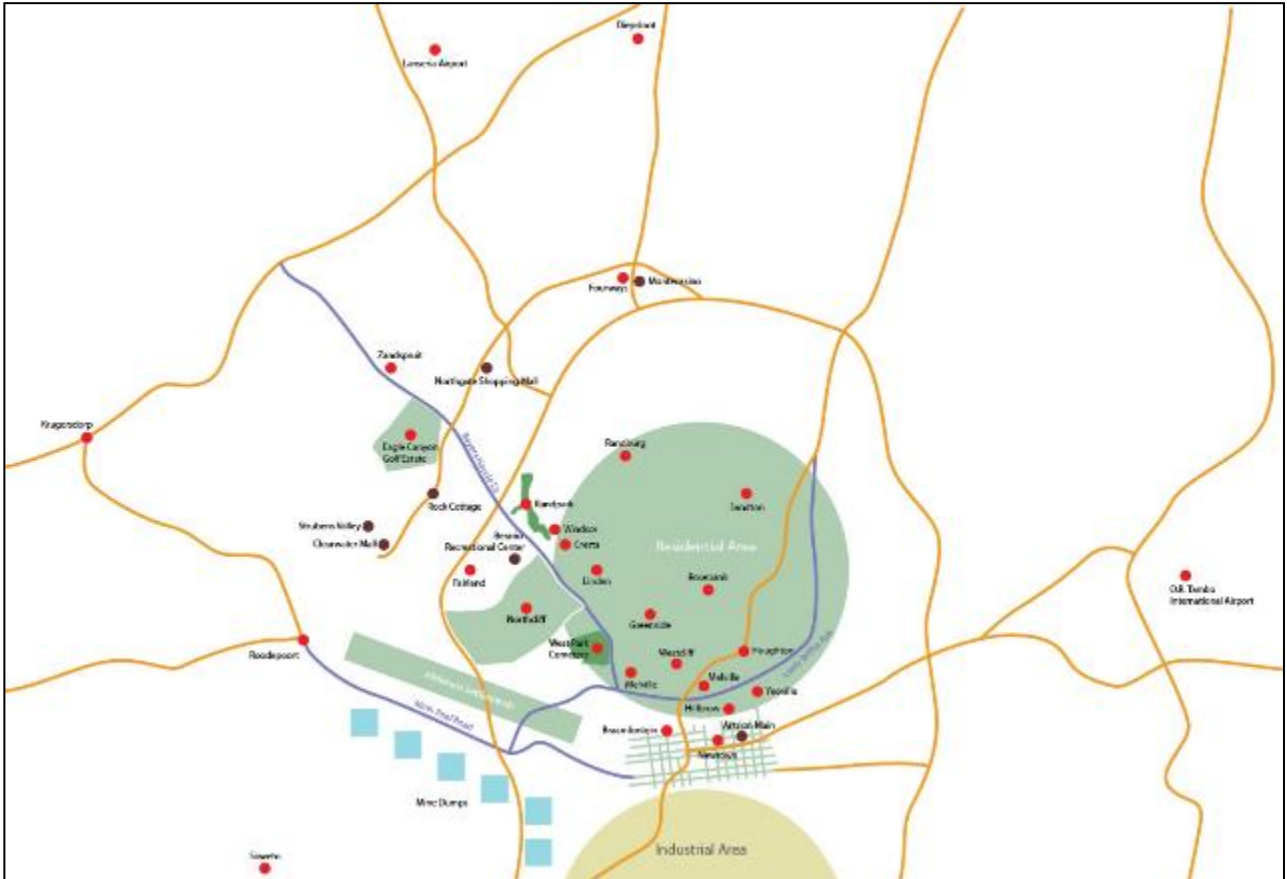
In the conclusion I review the key findings and I assess what difference it makes to the residents to live under a corporate management and what is the relevance of this form of habitation in contemporary South Africa and how the space of the estate comes to be experienced as the just and good space within the city.

1.

Chapter One

Mapping the City: Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, a golf estate and a suburb in Johannesburg

Map 1. *Map of Johannesburg*



The map features the development of the city. Please note the residential areas (green) and the position of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff; the grid of the city centre (Bramfontein, Newtown) and the position of Zandspruit (the informal settlement).

This chapter sets out the context of the study. A description of the golf estate, Eagle Canyon, and the open suburb, Northcliff, paves the way to look at the city directly from within and from the perspective of its inhabitants. An investigation into what can be referred to as an “elite space” of the city is preliminary to further investigation in the following chapters. I argue that when

looking at gated communities we ought to specify what kind of community settlement we are looking at, in other words an analysis of the concept is needed. The concept of “the gated community” is not self-explanatory. I will discuss both the notions of the gate and the community more extensively in the later chapters. For the moment I will just make the following methodological point: I argue that unless we look at the gated community and the suburb as separate entities, a crucial point in the study of the city and of its parts is missed. If, however, the focus is on the spaces as separate entities only, both phenomena are difficult to understand. In order to face this methodological paradox a comparative approach to the study of the city is then discussed, as an option to study contemporary cities in order to understand what are their most relevant characteristics.

The remainder of the chapter is divided into four main sections. I begin by describing Eagle Canyon and Northcliff and I point out on what aspect I have focused my observations. The description follows the chronological order of my observations. I then see how these two sites relate to the broader notions of a gated community and suburb and how they both relate to the ideals of the “garden city”. I discuss some literature on gated communities and suburbs. I then discuss how these two issues could be combined, in relation to each other and comparatively. Finally I speculate on how these dynamics play out in the city of Johannesburg and how they represent an “elite space”. Bringing together the issues raised by the literature on gated communities and on the city, I briefly position gated communities and suburbs in Johannesburg, concluding that in order to understand their social and political meaning, a broader vision of the city must be adopted (presented in Chapter 3). In this chapter I show how the estate and the suburb fit into the overall geography of Johannesburg and how do they compare with urban neighborhoods in the city. I show that Eagle Canyon and Northcliff are quite representative of white and wealthy suburbs in the country for their configuration and organization.

1. 1 Eagle Canyon: circa March 2011

Today I drive for the first time towards Eagle Canyon, a golf estate located in the Roodepoort Municipality where I intend to ask for permission to conduct fieldwork for my PhD research project. Through the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) I have obtained a contact on the estate – a resident, who has kindly organized a meeting with the marketing manager. I am not sure about the content of the meeting, or about what kind of environment I am going to find. But at least I know what I would like to obtain: some hints on how to start the research inside the estate and on how I could look for a room to rent “in the Canyon”. It is difficult to understand the role of the marketing manager at the beginning, as I am not fully aware of the functioning of the estate. In fact in the morning I drive with the expectation that I am attending a Homeowners Association meeting, an entity to which a fair amount of attention is given by the literature on gated communities, and which leads me to think that the meeting is crucial to my research. I venture on the highway, not confident of the route, getting lost a few times but always asking for direction, with the idea that everybody knows Eagle Canyon, and that was the

case. I reach the estate a bit late, the meeting was scheduled for 10 am, and when I get to the gate I have a hard time going through. First of all I don't have a code, secondly I am not really sure of my destination on the estate. Where in Eagle Canyon am I going? I keep reciting as a mantra that I am looking for the Homeowners Association meeting convinced of the fact that all security guards at the entrance are aware of it (so much emphasis is put on this when studying estates, it must be directly relevant to everyone, I think). After many conversations I realize that the only way of getting into the estate is by going to the clubhouse, where access is free to visitors. I receive a yellow card. At the clubhouse no one is aware of this meeting, they direct me to the offices of the HOA, I get it wrong and I enter the estate sales office. They tell me that I cannot reach the HOA offices with a yellow card, I need a green one. Which means going back to the main gate and negotiate it. I don't have an appointment and I realize that no one knows about the meeting I am supposed to attend. After a series of phone calls I am able to obtain a green card, go through two different boom gates and reach the HOA, where they inform me that there is no meeting going on. I have to come back in the afternoon, around 4 pm and meet the resident with the marketing manager at the clubhouse. Too long to wait there, I need to drive back to town and come back to Eagle Canyon in the afternoon. This means driving all the way down BeyersNaude, passing Northcliff, Cresta, reaching Melville and finally Yeoville. And it gave me a strong sense of what the city looks like.

Fieldnote
March 4th, 2011

The second time I entered Eagle Canyon Golf Estate was not as problematic as the first.. My informant had already facilitated my arrival.. In fact just one minute before I reach the estate, I receive an SMS reading: *WELCOME TO EAGLE CANYON GOLF ESTATE! Please use centre lane on entry and observe speed limit :40km/h. Access code 42783 valid for 1 entry for Fri 4th Mar. www.secsyst.com*

Three different entrances are provided: one is for residents who are in possession of a card, one for visitors with an entry code and the last is for those who need to register to enter. There is usually a long queue for the last lane, due to long processes of identification. This is done in order to guarantee a "first class" safety and security system. The security guards are full of smiles and accommodating and remind the visitor about the speed limit, one of the main concerns of the management and residents.

From the initial entrance, the visitor is reminded of the quiet atmosphere and of the set of strict rules to be observed in order to maintain the harmony of the place. Cars driving at a slow pace and a constant smile characterize the experience. The clubhouse is a "first class" facility: at the reception a lady welcomes the visitor and immediately afterwards a waiter receives them taking them to the tables on the terrace. A first impression of emptiness at the entrance is what characterizes the entire experience: the big open spaces – extremely ordered, spotlessly clean and well maintained – are not fully occupied by residents.

Figure 1. *Eagle Canyon sign and map*



From the main gate there is a short road to the clubhouse. I park the car and I walk to the clubhouse. My informant waits for me seated on a big couch at the entrance. The meeting had been arranged but I didn't know what to expect. She is young and she works at the Presidency⁴ in Pretoria. We introduce ourselves and I thank her for sending me the entry code. We then move towards the entrance of the bar/restaurant to meet the marketing manager of the estate. The contemporary/modern style of the clubhouse, its fake bricks bright brown in colour and the perfect green of the grass are striking from the beginning.

A few groups of people sit at different tables. The atmosphere is mainly quiet, but loud at times. Elmine (the marketing manager we came to meet) greets people from table to table. She wears a simple light top and jeans, lit cigarette on

⁴ With the dawn of democracy in 1994, and the adoption of a new final constitution in 1996, a provision was made for an Office of the President, which later became known as The Presidency. Under previous dispensations, the head of government in South Africa were Prime Ministers and State Presidents. As the executive manager of government The Presidency is at the apex of the system of government in the Republic of South Africa. The Presidency is situated in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, and has another subsidiary office in Tuynhuys, Cape Town. The Presidency's key role in the executive management and co-ordination of Government lies in its responsibility to organize governance. In this regard, a key aim is the facilitation of an integrated and co-ordinated approach to governance. This is being achieved through creative, cross-sectoral thinking on policy issues and the enhancement of the alignment of sectoral priorities with the national strategic policy framework and other Government priorities (from www.thepresidency.gov.za)

the one hand and a packet of cigarettes on the other. She is quite young, short hair with a constant smile on her face. We sit at a table and she goes: “so, what can I do for you?”. Elmine and my broker had been exchanging email conversations regarding questions of the estate previously, but had never met before. My broker introduces herself, stressing that she works at the Presidency (National Planning Commission) under the supervision of Trevor Manuel⁵. Elmine is immediately enthusiastic about this, she is talking to someone that has connections with Trevor Manuel, one of the only worthy politicians at the moment, according to her. A stream of consciousness starts from Elmine, she talks about South Africa, about Johannesburg and the estate; about her love for the country and the extreme beauty of Eagle Canyon: “We come from farms, we are Afrikaans, we have always worked hard. We still work hard and it is very nice to come back home in such a nice environment”. Only when her husband joins us, do we start talking about the research: “Oh, you are interested in this in/out thing. Those included, those excluded!” I explain carefully the aim of my research and stress that I really want to become a resident of the estate in order to understand its lifestyle and organization fully: “We will have to ask for permission from the Homeowners Association and Jeff Gilmour from ARC (Association of Residential Communities) will be able to help you. But I warn you, it will be difficult to find a place to stay or to live with a family here, people are very individualistic, hardworking and want no intruders at home.”

Fieldnote
March 4th , 2011

Already, the initial impression of the estate is indicative of three elements: the difficulty of becoming a resident (especially not buying or renting a house) and having the research approved by the management; the defensive attitude of its residents, epitomized by the expression: “oh, you are interested in understanding the in/out question, segregation in the city; and finally a certain disinterest *vis à vis* the content of the research, because in the end, according to many residents, there is not much to explore in these estates, as it is just a normal life. Indeed having the research approved by the HOA and becoming a resident had been a long process, which took at least 3 months (see Chapter Seven for a methodological account).

On the first meeting Elmine is entirely interested in introducing the estate, her role as marketing manager and her love for it. Her narration of it, I will understand later, is in line with that of almost everyone inside and outside it. She orders a bottle of white wine with three glasses, while talking and pointing out the beauty of the golf course which we can see from the terrace and the dream type world that is possible to experience living there. She keeps repeating: “you know, we all work a lot here and after a full working day, relaxing time is the best award we get”.

⁵ Trevor Manuel is currently serving in the cabinet of South Africa as Minister in the Presidency in charge of the National Planning Commission. From 1996 to 2006 he served as the Minister of Finance and under his mandate the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) macro-economic strategy was implemented.

It conforms to what Blakely and Snyder (1999) call a “lifestyle community”, with some characteristics of a prestige community and of a security zone as well. According to these authors the lifestyle communities are recreation oriented, the prestige communities serve the upper income and they reflect the need of privacy and exclusivity groups, and the security zones which are mostly oriented to the creation of a crime free space. The estate is located at the edge of the West Rand of Johannesburg, in what used to be the Roodepoort Municipality and now forms part of the Section C of the City of Johannesburg.

It is one of the 500 golf courses around the country and it follows the well-established trend of combining housing with a golf course. The estate explicitly aspires to be a prestigious, first class zone. It is a golf community, and despite only 15% of its residents playing golf, the golf course is one of the highlights of the estate; from the website:

The golf course is overlooked by one of the finest clubhouses in South Africa which has world class facilities - a fully stocked pro shop, academy, relaxing bar and bar lounge area, patio with breath taking sunset views, function and conference rooms, Camelot Spa and Senshi Wellbeing Centre with state of the art gym facilities.

www.eaglecanyongolfestate.co.za

last accessed August 2014

The idea to build this estate started in 2002, when the Chinese developer Mr. Jun Liu bought the land from the company Lafarge Aggregates and Concrete LTD and turned the then cement quarry into a residential area. The estate started to be built in 2004 and it is now almost complete, but four townhouse developments have still to be built to complete the project. At the moment of the construction of the estate the developer was the owner of the land and the main builder. At the same time he was responsible for setting up the HOA and for selling as many plots as possible to speculators that would buy plots in bulk to then resell them to private owners. In 2011 the developer had stepped out of the estate who was hosting 829 free standing houses and six different sectional title complexes, each governed by a Body Corporate and by the HOA, for a total of 381 apartments (data collected from the HOA of Eagle Canyon in August 2011). In 2012 the average price of a property in Eagle Canyon would be of R 3.438 Million (USD 392,000)⁶ for free standing houses while it would be R 1,520 (USD 126,000) for sectional title schemes. Owners of free standing properties would pay a levy of about R 2.500 (USD 207) to the Homeowners Association for maintenance of the common areas, while owners of an apartment in sectional title scheme would pay a double levy, in addition to that paid to the HOA, they would also pay one of about R 3.500 (USD 290) to the Body Corporate of the complex. As the prices show, there is a substantial difference between living in a free standing house or in an apartment of a complex. To the higher price of the stand corresponds a lower price of the levy and vice versa for

⁶ Please refer to Chapter 5 paragraph 5.3 for a much more detailed illustration of property prices.

the sectional title. This means that there is a fair heterogeneity as far as the residents of the estate are concerned. Purchasing a property in the estate was a big bet for many residents because of the uncertainty of the value of the property in future years. Despite these concerns, the estate has grown rapidly and, according to some residents, has enhanced and added value to the surrounding area. The estate is located in a distinct area of the city, the Roodepoort Municipality, an area that was amalgamated into the City of Johannesburg along with 12 other local authorities in the late 1990s. The location of the estate is undoubtedly relevant to an understanding of the social life and the surrounding area: it is a section of the city not as “sophisticated” and as wealthy as the northern suburbs⁷ (L. Harrison, personal communication, March 15, 2012), but is nevertheless a part of the metropolis that is shaping its own identity through the development of new estates and complexes, as well as shopping centres. At the time in which the estate was built this kind of development was not new in Johannesburg. Many different types of estate already existed in the city and in the country. The first example of estate governed by a Homeowners Association is Fourways Garden, built in 1974 in the Northern suburbs of the city. Shortly after Silver Lakes and Dainfern⁸ were built in its surroundings, starting to give a distinct connotation to the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg. Compared to these established estates, Eagle Canyon is a new one, and as it will be elaborated in the next chapters, it is also one of its kind in the area in which it is located, making it a special a desirable space to be for those who live in the surroundings and giving a sense of pride to those that have bought a property there.

Figure 2. *Free standing house of the Estate. No gates allowed.*



⁷ The Northern Suburbs are going to be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters (and particularly in Chapter Three and Four). For now it suffices to say that these are where the new financial hub of the city is located, it has been the first big residential expansion of the city.

⁸ Please visit the following websites to learn more about the estates mentioned. Fourways Gardens (<http://www.fwg.co.za/>), Silver Lakes (<http://www.silverlakes.co.za/>), Dainfern (<http://www.dainfern.co.za/>).

Figure 3. *La Belucia, sectional title complex of Eagle Canyon.*



Since 2004 other estates of different dimensions, internal organization and quality have flourished in this part of the city, transforming its landscape. This estate has attracted people from the surrounding areas, especially from Cresta, Northcliff and Krugersdrop and its residents assert the difference between this estate and others, located in different parts of the city. The entry level is extremely high, as it has been pointed out by the various estate agents that deal with it. Though the presence of both free standing houses and complexes, the market and the population of the estate are quite heterogeneous.

This estate is made up of virtually all economic and sociographic sectors of the market. We have young couples just starting out, middle-class working families, well-off working & retired families and even some very wealthy seasonally based families/couples who migrate from home to home along with the seasons and good weather”

Chairman, email communication
February 19th, 2012

Despite this wide diversity, most residents are white (Chapter Four will deal in more detail with the social and racial composition) and most of them belong to the wealthiest economic brackets.

The story goes that they have moved in for security reasons, and because of this they have adapted to a double jurisdiction, the one from the State and the one from the Homeowners Association. We talk about a double jurisdiction because the residents of the estate are required to follow its rules and at the same time they also are citizens of South Africa, thus they are supposed to follow the rules and the laws of the country. They have also created a new sense of community and they enjoy a holiday type of living. The story of this golf estate is one in which community, governance, segregation and suburb all come together. The entrance to the estate is no different from entrances of other estates. The structure of the gate, the booms, the cameras and the tranquil atmosphere are tangible when moving cross the estate in order to get to the main entrance. All of this is quite familiar to Johannesburgers and South Africans

who in the last 15 years have been attracted to this new way of living.

The major ruling body is the HOA, which meets on a monthly basis. The members volunteer for nominations and are then elected by the residents. Each member is in charge of a specific issue (golf, gardening and landscape, finances, security) and they all report to the general manager of the estate, who is appointed by them and is a professional estate manager. The members involved in the HOA are the ones who have moved into the estate first – they are mostly golf players – and are also involved in all its social activities. It is possible to find them in the clubhouse, around a table drinking a beer after a game of golf. They overtly show their support to what is supposed to be a natural communal life of the estate. Apart from the HOA, the residents of the five sectional title complexes are also governed by the Body Corporate, who follows the rules of the HOA.

Six managers, in charge of marketing, security, maintenance, finance, country club (clubhouse), food and beverages, run the day-to-day administration of the estate. They meet to discuss emergencies of the week and projects for the estate, either proposed or to be proposed by the HOA board members. Finally, on the administrative front, a morning security meeting takes place, with the security company manager and the personnel for briefing and dealing with any faulty systems or any incidents that may have occurred.

Eagle Canyon showcases itself as a safe, community conscious, elitist and first class space. In sociological terms this is translated through notions of segregation, polarization and homogeneous space, efficiently managed by the HOA.

Map 2. *Eagle Canyon*



As the map shows the estate is characterized by many different areas and spaces. The external and fenced perimeter is of 7.2 Km and it protects the internal space with an electric fence, properly monitored by the control room and by the security manager on an hourly basis. The wall has the specific function of defining the space, but it also represents the high-class community that resides inside:

This wall is not up to standards, it doesn't look like we are in first class estate. They (the management) need to fix it"

conversation with Julia,
resident of Eagle Canyon, 3rd April 2012

"Owners are encouraged not to use fencing on boundary or within 2m from street boundary, but rather to use bermed landscaping and/or structure of the buildings to create privacy and enclosure for children and pet animals or in compliance with side spaces"(www.eaglecanyongolfestate.co.za)

Julia shows that the perimeter and wall are supposed to show the quality of the first class estate, while the HOA is more concerned about the internal beautification of the estate, as the second account shows.

Figure 4. *The external wall*



The overall estate is of the dimension of 300 hectares of land, with a 18 holes golf course covering much of the land and offering a green environment for the residents who enjoy walking inside the estate off golf hours and on Mondays when the Country Club is closed to the public. The golf course serves thus a double function, on the one side it is the space in which residents and outsiders can play golf and on the other side it offers a leisure space for the residents that wish to enjoy a peaceful walk before 6 am and after 5 pm.

In the Estate different spaces could be found: the clubhouse, the gym, the spa and the golf course are public spaces enjoyed both by the residents and the non-residents who are interested in these activities; then there are private spaces such as the private houses; in between there are two other types of space: the semi-public (parks/streets who can be enjoyed only by the residents) and the semi-private spaces, namely those parts of the houses used for informal activities such as pilates, gym and scrapbooking. (Chapters 3 and 4 will provide a closer scrutiny of these spaces). The internal landscape of the estate is strongly defined by rules and regulations. When buying a property the new owner is provided with a pamphlet of rules and regulations to be followed (See Appendix A). Specifically as far as the landscape is concerned, the estate enforces Architectural, Building and Landscape requirements whose purpose is to “encourage individual creativity while fostering a unity materials and finish to ensure that the overall development harmonises to create a balanced lifestyle for all residents” (rule 2, appendix A).

Figure 5. *View of the dam and of the golf course*



Figure 6. *View of the free standing houses overlooking the golf course*



Figure 7. *View of a sectional title complex*



Figure 8. *Private swimming pool overlooking the dam*



During my stay in Eagle Canyon I have lived in two different spaces (see Chapter 7 for further details on entering the field). Firstly in a sectional title habitation, sharing the apartment with Josephine, a woman on her mid forties who had bought the property at the very inception of the estate. In April 2011 when I started my fieldwork she was returning to her flat after a few years out of the estate. After having rent it out to a Chinese family, she was very happy to return to her flat, which she used to call “my diamond”. However her unstable situation required her to find a flatmate to help her out with levies and other expenses. Sharing an apartment is not a common practice in Eagle Canyon as property owners usually rent the full property to a family.

Josephine has been unemployed for most of the time I have spent with her and the most recurrent image I have is of her sitting at the kitchen counter drinking a glass of wine complaining about her financial situation, about the discrimination that she was subjected to for being a white woman in a country governed by a black party, the ANC. Josephine, a blond, beautiful single woman, mother of three kids residing at a boarding school in East London, had to eventually sell her place. I then moved to another area of Eagle Canyon, to a cottage of a free standing property overlooking the golf course. As it will be clear in the course of the dissertation, I have not had any relationship with my landlords.

The internal and manicured landscape of the estate conflicts with the former nature of the space. In the early 2000 the estate comes to substitute an open, vast area, mostly agricultural, not densely populated and part of the outskirts of the city.

An old resident of the area talks about the estate with scorn:

“Why would you want to live in places such as EC where it is so packed?
Where there is so much density? Not to mention the townhouse complexes?”

Interview with Lucy
Resident of the West Rand

She really cannot see the point of living in such places, especially in view of where she is staying. She goes through the major changes of the area:

“The family has moved here in 1983 when the denomination for the land was AH (Agricultural Holding). There were no tarred roads, only dirty and gravel roads. There was quite a good community. It was like living in the country but close to the city. At the time Randpark Ridge was the last of the urban edge of Johannesburg. It was a fruit growing area, in fact Andrew mention many times the strawberries of his infancy”.

Conversation with Lucy
Resident of the West Rand
November 15th, 2011

This piece of the interview informs on the ways in which the estate is contingent to the story of the development of the city. It informs on the way it is linked to suburbs. People have moved here and they expect a similar lifestyle. Yet, there are differences, for instance the density of population of the estate, makes it not as desirable as would be expected on such an estate, and it seems to be more of a restriction. It equally shows that there is a strong connection between the gated estate and the ideal of the suburb. Next section will explore and describe the life of Northcliff.

1.2. Northcliff, the secret of Johannesburg: circa December 2011

Travelling up Beyers Naude Drive, before reaching Eagle Canyon, the driver finds shopping malls, little plazas hosting a Woolworths⁹, Standard Bank, at times Dis-Chem, a few cafés, restaurants and nurseries. Cresta shopping mall was the first mall that was built in the area in the seventies. Beyers Naude Drive, the main artery linking the central suburb of Melville to the distant suburb of Honeydew is the commercial reference point. Residents refer to the commercial strip extending for over 15 kilometres as their main reference point for shopping and coffees, but the area is appealing also due to the quietness of the residential areas. The swing between the traditional residential aspect and the novelty of the shopping malls still keeps the idea of a village alive.

Today I met Louise for the first time at her place in Senior Drive, one of the well-known streets of Northcliff, and which constitutes the old residential hub of the suburb. Louise has agreed to meet me and to give me an overview of the area. Driving up Senior Drive one sees big plots and big houses, though what is more evident to the external eye is the protection provided by gates and walls, and occasionally a little wooden hut from where private security companies operate to

⁹ Woolworths is a chain of retail store and is modeled on Marks and Spencer. The brand incorporates food, clothing and house accessories. It is one of the biggest chain in South Africa and it serves a middle class population. Dis-Chem is a chain pharmacy.

protect the area. Louise welcomes me with a big smile, a cup of coffee and a long chat on how her life is busy, given that she is a mom with three kids. She also takes me on a drive to show her daily itineraries and she points out the Cresta shopping centre, one of the most important in the area. Northcliff is a hilly green suburb, trees are old, streets are winding and narrow. Driving up to the ridge one reaches the second highest point of Johannesburg of which its residents are very proud

Fieldnote
November 10th, 2011

On December 2011 I get in touch with the Rotary Club, Northcliff branch. I explain my research and they invite me to the Randpark Ridge Golf Club to give a presentation of my work and to possibly have some inputs on how to look for a room in the area. The members of the Club are surprised at my intention of studying the suburb of Northcliff and they show interest in my work because in the end according to them Northcliff is “the secret” of Johannesburg and it needs to be documented.

On 26 August 1930 the Council opposed the establishment of a township by Northwest Township (Pty) Ltd on Aasvogel’s Kop on the farm Waterval and objected to the proposed name of Wonder View, because it would be confused with Wandere’s View. According to *The story of Northcliff* Fred Cohen (cited in Smith 1971) named the township Northcliff, and on 4 October 1960 he personally confirmed that it was a descriptive name as the township was on the northern most cliff of Johannesburg. He was associated with the township owners Northwest Townships Pty. Ltd. It was finally declared an approved township on 3 October 1934. Between this date and September 1965 various extensions were established, but only a few of them were within the Johannesburg municipal boundary (Smith 1971, p. 371).

Documentation on this suburb is quite difficult to retrieve. The National Archives provide some of the documents regarding its proclamation, but accounts on the daily life are scarce. Clive Chipkin, a well known architectural historian, narrates that the basis for the development of the suburb was the intention to mimic the suburbs of Parktown and Westcliff¹⁰, where there were no more plots available for further construction. Due to the vicinity of a cemetery, the area had not immediately taken off as a desirable place to stay, and the developer tried to boost it by attempting to create an environment where people could enjoy a vibrant cultural environment on the ridge, the second highest peak of the city. Northcliff was closer to the mine dumps of the West side of Johannesburg than the other central suburbs and this was the cause of its low economic value. Interviews with residents show that the area was at the time considered to be far out, agricultural and not sophisticated. Altogether, the morphology of this part of the city had drastically contributed to the creation of

¹⁰ These are the first posh and wealthy suburbs of Johannesburg, developed following the principle of the garden city.

an idea of a space different from the one of the previous suburbs, and distinct from the extremely affluent and stylish Northern suburbs¹¹.

At present Northcliff has several extensions and it is difficult to assess the number of residents. Started from a peach farm, it has developed into big plots with gardens, swimming pools and occasionally tennis courts. From the ridge it is possible to note some of these big gardens, but nowadays a new architectural form can be found, that of the townhouse complexes. An estate agent of Fine and Country, Northcliff branch, explains that more and more residents subdivide their properties and build complexes on the big plots in order to diminish the costs. This makes the current landscape of the suburb a very diverse one, in which the old look of it is increasingly accompanied by the new trend of the townhouse complexes.

Northcliff recurs quite often in the discussion of residents of Eagle Canyon, especially when they talk about their origins, their families and their past. Northcliff is only 12 Km away from the Estate and at present the connection between the two areas could be differentiated into a structural one (linked to the fact that many residents of Northcliff have moved to Eagle Canyon and to the fact that they share some of the facilities such as schools, churches, recreation centres and shopping malls) and a symbolic one (linked to the ways in which residents mutually think of and talk about each other). It is considered to be an affluent suburb and its residents are not uncomfortable to say it, they like to call it the “secret” of the city for its quiet and harmonious character. A few streets are considered to be the real Northcliff, these are the ones along the ridge, the oldest and more affluent ones, in which the new trend of complexes is not as evident as elsewhere. Not being a formally gated space, the suburb is not governed by a statutory institution such as that of the HOA. Rather, other institutions represented by the Ward Councillors, the Community Policing Forum, and the Residents’ Associations play a big role in running the area. Residents enjoy a few recreational activities. The Randpark Ridge Golf Club is where they play golf but the Country Club has stopped being as important as before due to the advent of a branch of the Virgin Active gym¹². The recreation centre attracts members from all over Johannesburg and churches (Dutch Reformed, Christian and so on) are well attended. Clubs such as Rotary and Lions¹³ are entirely vested in the well-being of the suburb and broader community. A new mosque close by promises a more heterogeneous community of habitants.

Northcliff is an old, established and very well run suburb, slowly changing in terms of socio demographics (due to presence of different types of housing). Nevertheless, it remains a clearly white and traditional space, in which residents

¹¹ It will become clear in Chapter Three the importance of these areas and how they play a role in fostering identities and belonging.

¹² Virgin Active is a chain of Gym popular in Johannesburg and in South Africa. They are located in all middle and upper class suburbs and they offer a wide variety of sporting activities,

¹³ Rotary and Lions club are two international philanthropic association. Among many others, one of their characteristic is to work towards the improvement of disadvantaged communities

feel at ease and in which they do not claim to feel much of the changes of the city, and in which family life is preserved thanks to its quietness and its services.

Not being a gated suburb, boundaries are more blurred, so was my entrance to the field. The Rotary Club helped me by publishing a blurb in the weekly community magazine "*Northcliff Melville Times*" explaining my research and announcing that I was looking for a place to stay in the area. Observations started before I found a place and have continued for the entire year. As will be exposed in the following chapters, observations have been done by directly participating in sport activities and meetings; but also thanks to the network of residents provided by the family with which I was living. From March until November 2012 I have lived with an old couple and I have been integrated into their family life. The woman was a hairdresser and had a thick network of friends and clients, which she still maintains and which she has shared with me while I was living there. Her husband was struck by a brain tumor while I was living there and interactions with him have been limited. They were very established residents of the suburb, as they have lived there since the early Sixties and their memory was still very vivid and alive, especially of the old days. In fact they have experienced the changes of Northcliff from within.

Despite their difference in outlook, architecture and planning, Eagle Canyon and Northcliff are quite well connected. Many of the residents of some of the extensions of Northcliff have moved into Eagle Canyon since it started developing. The attractiveness of this new site is not accidental. There seems to be a topographical connection between the imaginary and the life of the Estate in the West Rand and that of Northcliff. One of the residents of Northcliff explains the connection between the two areas:

"We used to be going away for the weekend to Little Falls when we were little kid (circa 1950s). It wasn't the case like now you go shopping at Little Falls for groceries"

Madeline
female resident of Northcliff
March 21st, 2012

The area is not unfamiliar to the residents, and they have seen it changing in the last decade. In fact it might be the case that for those residents who have moved into Eagle Canyon, the move was natural. An estate agent from Fine and Country, Northcliff branch, laments the shrinking market in Northcliff:

"We have lost many clients to Eagle Canyon", she says "less and less people want to put up with old houses that need renovation, also people want to live close to private schools".

Without over-emphasizing the relationship between the two areas and trying to understand the nature of this relationship, a relational approach has been adopted in the study in order to explore the social, spatial and the political

systems that emerge in them, with the aim of revealing their connections, their similarities and differences, given their different spatial and administrative organizations. We will see that the comparison helps define the novelty and the specificity of the estate as an urban phenomenon, in relation to the suburb.

Northcliff is a suburb, old, with a history. It is located very close to the city, but it also looks outbound. Original houses are one hectare big, but are now being split into several properties and this makes the estate market dynamic. Previous investigation in Eagle Canyon has shown the connection between the two areas, mainly because most residents of the Golf Estate have moved from Northcliff and they have maintained family/friend connections with the old suburb; furthermore kids of the two areas attend the same schools and overall residents shop in the same shopping centres (Cresta, Randpark Ridge and Clearwater Mall).

Map 3. *Northcliff*



The boundaries of the suburb of Northcliff (Map 3) are not as clear as they are for the Estate, it is thus more difficult to assess the dimension of the suburb and its number of residents. Furthermore, the residents of Northcliff are entitled to build walls and fences, to paint their house the color they like without following rules and regulations of a governing body. The perimeter wall of the house and of the estate becomes then not only a sign of inclusivity or exclusivity but the determinant of the status of the family.

The different spaces of the suburb can also be classified in public (parks, the shopping centres and the recreation centre), private (habitations); semi-public (the country club and the tennis club); semi private (the house used for commercial activities). As it is possible to note there are no major differences in the classification of spaces between the golf estate and the suburb, in fact the dichotomy private/public might be used in the same way. Contrasting the two maps it is possible to see how the spaces are physically similar. However the main boundary is the private house for the Northcliff and the entrance gate for the residents. This has huge implication for how the private space is lived. The next chapters are going to look at these aspects.

Figure 9. *View from the ridge. Private tennis court in Northcliff*



Figure 10. *Free standing house in Northcliff. Private gates and security*



Figure 11. *Northcliff from the ridge. Private green.*



Furthermore, despite the different organization and definition of boundaries of the two areas, they both share preoccupations over security, the hobby of golf, a sentiment of quietness, the rhetoric about the beauty of trees and a natural landscape, a family oriented life, and a way of longing for an elitist homogeneous space (even though as it will be explained in the subsequent chapter, racial homogeneity is perceived and lived differently). However, they also are different with respect to the role of institutions, the dimensions of the houses, the ideals of efficiency and community and of what a just way of living in a just city is, even though both of them claim to be the real “good people” of the country.

The next section illustrates an account of how these two different areas are conceptually and socially linked from a historical and sociological perspective. They both are a legacy of the idea of the garden city and of its different materializations over time and space in suburbs and gated communities. The garden city provided the idea of a sanitized, ordered, safe, well-maintained and egalitarian space. It is exactly on these notions that residents of suburbs and gated communities build their identities and assert their differences.

This chapter locates suburbs and gated settlements in South Africa and specifically in the city of Johannesburg, famously known for being a divided, segregated and arduous space of which the stretch of walls and electric fences are the most tangible manifestations.

1.3. Garden City, suburbs and gated communities: international and local debates

In 1899 Ebenezer Howard gives birth to the first Garden City Association in England. In the context of growing industrial London, Howard aspired to create a space in which a planned and self-contained community would be able to match residential needs with those of the industry and agriculture. It was an attempt to integrate into one space rural and urban worlds and contrast it with the distress of the industrial town, creating what could be seen as a utopian environment¹⁴ in which a socialist idea of common life was pursued following the principles of a) putting functions together in an attempt to create multifunctional and independent cities; b) offering a blend of urban and rural environments; c) creating space for work and for leisure; d) residents becoming members of an association (Garden City Association 1899).

Prior to this Association and the formalization of the movement, the architect Norman Shaw, representative of the New England architecture and of the arts and craft movement, designed and developed the very first example of the garden city in Bedford Park, London. His work was influenced by the romantic rural views of the English villages of the 18th century coupled with travels to Italy where the British elite experienced villas in Tuscany with their hilly and meandering landscapes¹⁵.

London and Johannesburg are geographically far apart; they belong to different continents, usually put in contrast using the vision of the Global North (to which unequivocally London belongs) and the Global South, host of the City of Johannesburg¹⁶. Yet, the connection between the two cities comes to light quite straightforwardly. Clive Chipkin, recounts that for cities like Johannesburg “it is unrewarding to study [their] local histories ... in isolation...[they] began with ready-made components and imported cultural baggage-like suburbs throw-outs from distant metropolitan explosions... Bombay, Calcutta, Melbourne, Buenos Aires, Kimberly, Johannesburg. These breeds of urban bacilli were incubated by a common metropolitan source of capital. It is to this metropolitan source that we must look in order to explain the life-styles of its progeny” (1972, p. 57). Clive Chipkin, describing the first buildings of the city in 1929, indicates that: “At the lower and intermediate levels are the modernised classical details characteristic of Johannesburg’s 20s architectures. But at the attic storey, new influences from New York had become predominant” (1993, p. 85)¹⁷.

The “Garden City” becomes the crucial concept that connects and elaborates images and facts of imperialism, especially from England to southern Africa. It

¹⁴ See for instance Plato and the City of Sun, or Utopia by Thomas Moore

¹⁵ Of course many others have adopted the same views, for instance Le Corbusier has been influential in further developing the idea of the garden city in attempting to create an environment in which the individual would be perfectly incorporated and fitted into the architectural form of the building (see for instance le modulator).

¹⁶ The differentiation between the Global North and the Global South directs the interest towards an established and renewed literature on the Global South as fertile site of theorization see, among others, Robinson (2004), Mbembe and Nuttall (2008), Comaroffs (2011).

¹⁷ In the same book Clive Chipkin also talks about the influences from Vancouver, Delhi and Paris, just to name a few.

is likewise the core concept from which many of the contemporary metropolises and suburbs have drawn for the creation of a different city. What this thesis will explore is the way that models of the “garden city” continue to organise the physical and symbolic form of Johannesburg, from the organisation of townships to the production of middle class spaces. It will do so by looking at the city in a relational and comparative way, comparing suburbs, to examine how the first suburbs were built in Johannesburg and how they have developed in new forms, such as that of the gated community.

Johannesburg came to exist subsequent to the discovery of gold and it started as a mining town, a dry and empty land over which a city based on European standards has been built, in terms of services, architecture and facilities. The grid of the city followed a model in which the Central Business District (CBD) was followed by the expansion into leafy suburbs. The discovery of gold in 1886 transformed the terrain overnight, overturning its social, political and physical geography. While central suburbs such as Doornfontein and Braamfontein were dusty chaotic working class environments, the wealthy headed north, for their ridges and their environs¹⁸. Architects in Johannesburg worked to create a space similar to rural England and able to challenge the Victorian¹⁹ world. Indeed rural life was romanticized. The vanguard of the rich left the dust and the cold of the central suburbs to move towards the rich suburb of Parktown, which then became a new space, marked by exclusion, separation and big houses, where the mix between the garden city, the rural village and the opulence all combined together in a system of snobbery (conversation with Clive Chipkin, August 2013), changing and altering the idealist, utopian view of the world that the Garden City expressed in London. In Johannesburg the garden city was used to reproduce a utopian world, a suburb on a private scale. The interpretation of the garden city, combined with the discovery of gold, is at the heart of the peculiarity of Johannesburg where this utopian planned community is the legacy of a system of private property and management. Northcliff, one of the suburbs of this study is the continuum of the initial suburbs. The garden city plays a double role in the South African context: on the one side it is the link between the continent and the rest of the world. On the other hand, as much as everywhere else in the world, it shows the association between the suburb and the gated community, since, as will be shown later, there is a continuum between the garden city and the recent development of the homeowners association.

A study of white suburbia in South Africa requires addressing the notion of the garden city and the imagery of what a European city is, be it linked to direct knowledge or to imagination. This also explains how Johannesburg showcased itself as a European city at the beginning of the century and aspires to be a world class city at present. The South African case exemplifies the connection between the idea of the garden city and the developments of the suburbs in their final form of the gated community – as elite and homogeneous spaces.

¹⁸ North has always been the aspiration: sign of victory, potential expansion of the Empire, where the sun faces.

¹⁹ For a detailed account of the Victorian Age in South Africa and in Johannesburg see Hart (1974, 1989).

1.3.1. Sub-urban affairs

Following the model of the garden city, suburbs entered the African continent with the advent of colonization. Freund noted that “ostentatious colonial suburbs eventually engulfed older communities, marginalizing them or rendering them less and less relevant to the broader patterns of social dynamism” (2007, p. 72). He also stated that in 1899, in the newly founded Nairobi, “massive suburban tracts were laid out with tree-lined boulevards and no expectation of public transport whatsoever. This was an English Garden City in the tropics – for the privileged. White (and to a lesser extent Indian) property speculators were able to make substantial profits from the sale of privatised land” (Freund 2007, p. 79). In colonial settings “throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the further transformation of suburbs and colonial cities—and suburbs of colonial cities—served to articulate key dimensions in which European cultures were evolving: social differentiation, economic extraction and consumption, the political redefinition of property and of possessive individualism, and the aesthetic articulation of the self” (Archer 1997 in Nicolaides and Wiese 2006, p. 40).

Historical evidence suggests that the suburb is originally a space close to the city but not entirely part of it (from the Latin sub-under and urbs-city). This section discusses the main themes developing around this space in contemporary times and positions them vis a vis the city both globally and in South Africa. The discussion will also introduce the new development of the gated community.

Since their initial appearances, scholars have come to regard suburbs and the urban sprawl with which they were associated with suspicion. Both in the American, and in the African contexts, at the beginning of the twentieth century suburbs were associated with elite spaces, as desirable places to live in response to the industrialization of the city in the United States, and the need for distance from the natives in Africa. Suburbs and their pervasiveness in the American context, in the colonies and to a different extent in Europe should not be analysed as isolated entities, as they are in fact attached to the cities to which they belong. Linked to this is the fact that political criticism around the suburb was justified by the idea that suburbs were part of the decentralization process and of administrative functions.

The vision of the landscape and of the romantic rural life has always been appealing (Loudon 1838; Emerson 1923 in Nicolaides and Wiese 2006). The desirability of the suburb was linked to changing spatial patterns of the city and the longing for a pleasant and natural space, in which the air would not be polluted, in which there would be good services and infrastructure, and where the automobile and later the car would reign to the detriment of the public transport. Suburbs have been studied as pathological sites, as anonymous spaces. Fishman (1987) describes suburbs as “Bourgeois Utopias”, a flight from the city that was a new form of urban expansion. The main themes developing around the notion of suburbs are that of segregation, of class and racial homogeneity. Suburbs have been regarded as conservative and gendered spaces. Preservation of the family was epitomized by the Levittown phenomenon (Gans 1967), the prototype of American suburbia in which family, leisure and disinterest for the

public good was reported to be extremely prominent to the benefit of what was considered to be a good comfortable lifestyle.

Initially the success of the suburb was linked to the aspiration of having a clean and healthy life as a reaction to the industrialization of the cities. The suburb becomes the neighbourhood unit, it becomes a representation of a way of living in which certain facilities were supposed to be close by, and in which the key aim was the creation of a community (through the engagement in community centres), accompanied by the demand for space, which changed the scale of urban planning once the protective fortification ceased to be essential for security (Mumford 1961, p. 488). Subsequently, the suburb remains an area in which there is no community and in which the participation in its activities decreases. In the United States the call for the preservation of the “good life” of the suburb has been used by Republicans in the Seventies to promote pro-segregationist rhetoric. Equally in South Africa white suburbs were the space of order and control, the space that needed to be preserved by the community.

Contrasting the growth process of the city proposed by the Chicago school, the Los Angeles school of urbanism placed more attention on the study of suburbs, working on the idea of a multinodal metropolis in which every suburb is a centre in itself (urbanisation of the suburb). In line with the school of New Urbanism, the metropolis and its suburbs start to be conceived in terms of diversity, especially with regard to the possibility of mixed-land use, an anti-sprawl policy and a pedestrian-friendly environment (see Congress for the New Urbanism 1996). Suburban communities evolve into new forms as the metropolitan area grows (Baldassare 1992) and the suburb becomes a space of both residence and business. For David Kolb (2008), the suburb is just one of the multiple nodes of the metropolis; and it is highly differentiated – though there is a repetitiveness that cannot be denied in the new developments, where the regulation itself demands homogeneity in the aesthetics and architecture of the single house or of the townhouse complexes. The suburb, through the processes of differentiation and urbanisation, becomes heterogeneous. However, this heterogeneity (along the lines of race and class) is often organised in homogeneous subgroups that usually live in proximity to each other.

Overall suburbs are characterized by demand for space, the longing for a community and family lifestyle and perpetuation of the idea of the village. Patterns of industrialization and de-industrialization have determined the changing face of suburbs globally. Mabin, Butcher and Bloch (2013) stress that at present, in Africa change is concentrated in three crucial spaces: at the peripheries, in older areas where there is rapid change and in new centralities, which are the result of the reshuffling of the two previous spaces. These new centralities are where new developments are concentrated and where new patterns of urban life and movement take place. It becomes then imperative to understand what these new centralities are and how they manifest themselves. Wealthy suburbs in South Africa have always represented the white population, however, how does Northcliff fit in and how does it relate to these new centralities? The case of the gated community is a good starting point.

1.3.2. Gated communities: conceptual insights

Starting from the Nineties in the context of urban studies and urban transformation a new field of studies has emerged, related to the emergence of the gated communities as an urban phenomenon McKenzie (1996) suggests that the gated community is the privatized version of the garden city, where there is no benevolent, public view that characterized the English version. The homeowners association is what institutionalizes the management of the gated community and, together with the defined boundaries of its space it is also what differentiates the gated community from the open suburb. The attention to this phenomenon developed firstly in the United States and, in the last years, has expanded globally. Indeed, publications on gated communities cover all continents, trying to trace common traits, similarities and differences among them²⁰. The literature discusses its causes and consequences, its symptoms and what it represents. However, the phenomenon is internally differentiated and despite the same characteristics, gated communities can be as diverse as possible in terms of dimension, organization and structure. Furthermore, a relational approach to the study of the gated community has not yet been employed and the relationship between the gated community and other parts of the city sharing the same socio-economic demographics has not been addressed. This form of habitation has been studied as a unique and separate entity from the rest of the city, with few exceptions addressing the interaction between residents of the gated community and the surrounding inhabitants, mostly from a lower socio-economic background in South Africa (Lemanski 2006) and in Argentina (Roitman 2005). This work attempts to look at how a gated golf estate speaks to broader societal changes and how it relates to the open suburb, trying to assess what are the similarities and differences between the two, given their common legacy. Overall, apart from case studies across the world that have contributed to a large body of knowledge, this field of study lacks a clear framework of investigation (Roitman, Webster and Landman 2010).

To fully investigate the phenomenon it is necessary to break down the relevance and the meaning of the “gate” and the “community”. The lack of substantial ethnographic work in these areas is often misleading. The gate is often seen in its physical characteristic, thus merely in terms of exclusion, and the community is, on the other hand, usually seen in its romantic acceptance as a nice place in which people live harmoniously. McKenzie (2006, in Webster et al.) writes that talking about a gated community lumps together a very vague category of a varied array of private practices of housing management and different spaces: horizontal and vertical, wide and narrow, dense and sparse, just to cite a few. He notes that “the visual impact of such forbidding architectural features has been sufficiently dramatic to give the name ‘gated community’ to the entire phenomenon of private residential government.” (McKenzie 2006, p. 17, in Glasze, Webster and Frantz 2006). This author also argues that “gated communities are more significant as symbols of the phenomenon of which they

²⁰ A few edited books are remarkable in this regard. Bagaeen and Uduku (2010) trace the historical legacies of gating all around the world. Webster, Glasze and Frantz (2006) tackle the question of the private cities globally and locally.

are a part. These enclosed neighbourhoods, with their fortified borders and 'residents only' signs, serve stark visual notice that present trends seem to be undermining the assumptions of public streets, freedom of movement and access, as well as those of private property and dominion over one's residence that characterised traditional American suburban neighbourhoods" (Mckenzie 2006, p. 17 in Glasze, Webster and Frantz 2006).

The semantic notion of the gated community is quite wide, thus the difficulty of providing a definition to it. Nevertheless it is possible to trace common trends and common features in the following definitions. The most viable definition, acceptable for its openness is: "Walled or fenced housing developments to which public access is restricted, often guarded using CCTV and/or security personnel, and usually characterized by legal agreements (tenancy or leasehold) which tie the residents to a common code of conduct" (Blandy, Lister, Atkinson and Flint, 2003, p.2). Blakely & Snyder define gated developments as "Residential areas with restricted access that makes normally public spaces private. Access is controlled by physical barriers, walled or fenced perimeters, and guarded or gated entrances. Gated communities include both new housing developments and older residential areas retrofitted with barricades or fences" (1997 p. 2). The idea of housing development is at the basis of the gated community, as well as that of the closure of space, and of the way residents formally get to be linked to each other that is, the legal agreement.

A further useful definition is "Gated community refers to any physical area that is fenced or walled off from their surroundings, either prohibiting or controlling access to these areas by means of gates or booms. In many cases the concept can refer to a residential area with restricted access so that normal public spaces are privatized or use is restricted. They do not, however, refer only to residential areas, but may also include controlled-access villages for work (office blocks), commercial and/or recreational purposes. Gated communities can include both enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages" (Landman 2000, p.2). In addition, yet particular to the South African case, is the distinction between estates and boomed neighbourhoods, which "refer to neighbourhoods that have controlled access thorough gates or booms across existing roads. Many are fenced or walled off as well, with a limited number of controlled entrances/exits and security guards at these points in some cases. The roads within these neighbourhoods were previously or still are public property and in many cases the local council is still responsible for public services to the community within. An enclosed neighbourhood usually refers to an existing neighbourhood that has been closed off" (Landman, 2000, p.3). As it has been noted, regional characteristics are always to be acknowledged: they influence the way in which these spaces are described, named and consequently the way they are perceived and their meaning vis-à-vis the society. In Latin America Borsdorf & Hidalgo (2008) talk of "Barrio cerrado" to identify the same kind of development. The massive growth of master planned development is also the object of study in the Arab world. For instance, in Saudi Arabia the wealth linked to oil has determined high housing demand, which has materialized in the form of gated developments for expatriates working in the industry (Glasze 2006).

Internationally gated communities are studied in Latin America (Caldeira 2000; Carvalho, Varkki George, Anthony 1997), in South East Asia and Australia (Burke 2001), in the Muslim world (Glasze and Alkhayyal 2002); France and Europe (Jaillet 1999; Billard, Chevalier and Madoré 2005). The presence of gated communities is associated with drastic socio-political changes. There are different regional forces behind the emergence of the gated community. In North America they become to be prominent concomitant to the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism. In Latin America changeover from authoritarianism to democracy increased social polarization and criminality and enhanced a weak state regulation and of local government. In Europe they have become prominent subsequent to the shift from state economy to market economy and at the dawn of European integration, especially in the countries formally part of the Communist bloc. A part from those on the communist bloc, studies on gated communities in Europe seem to address quite strongly the relationship between space and society. Cousin (2012), describing gated communities in Milan suburbs, points out that these are appealing to those residents that want to flee the city centre and enjoy a different lifestyle. Cousin's work is relevant to this study as it points out how mechanisms of self-segregation in Milan are entirely embedded in broader societal changes and how in order to understand them a scrutiny of their lifestyle is needed. In the African continent the emergence and diffusion of gated communities has always been associated with the process of democratization and the security crisis that followed and in which violence is the regulator of social relationships marked by social inequality (Benit-Gbaffou, Fabiyi and Peyroux 2009, p. 9).

Gated communities are seen as the physical manifestation of mutations of contemporary society with its fragmentation, individualism and a need for community, they are seen also as the consequence of the increased need for security brought about by political and economic factors (Le Goix 2006). For these reasons they are seen as a pathology of the urban panorama. If the gated community is seen as a growing cancer, spreading everywhere, it might be of interest looking at what drives the creation of such phenomenon. There is much debate on the terms of exclusivity of these gated communities.

Globally gated communities share common traits, but also maintain specificities determined by the space. It is also noticeable that factors such as legal bodies, constitutions and regulations play a pivotal role in shaping differences in style, composition, dimension and legal administration and not lastly architecture. The United States is the precursor of this system based on the interpretation and adaptation of the model of the garden city. Master planned communities and communal ownership were main feature of the garden city, re-enacted by the Common Interest Developments (CID) model. Setha Low (2003) has identified the "fear factor" as one of the main reasons underlying the success of gated communities worldwide. Fear is central to this analysis as it is linked to the relations that we have with the "other" and, when related to a spatial context, it raises questions related to the value of the property, and the convenience of sharing the care of communal areas. This complicates the notion of self-isolation. The criticism of this form of living often revolves around a couple of main points: it creates and fosters segregation; and it is the material expression of inequality and privatisation of space. It is seen as the exit option from society

(Hirshman 1970), as the response to the security paranoia; it is presented as the expression of social polarisation and homogeneous spaces. Sennett (1977) sees it as the manifestation of the end of the “public men” and the beginning of individualism. Finally, Bauman (2001) talks about self-inflicted ghettoization. On a more spatial front, Graham and Marvin (2001) frame gated communities in a broader context of global economic restructuring where they cause fragmentation within the city, but possibly connect people of the same group all over the world availability of financial capital. Physically these produce separation. Following the same line, Smith regards phenomena of urban gentrification (of which gated communities and the phenomenon of private urban governance often form part) as the result of “competitive urban strategy within the same global economy” (2002, p.446). Smith’s argument helps understanding the local/global connection of this phenomenon and grounds its understanding to a material/financial aspect linked to the real estate market. Whereas Smith addresses mostly processes of inner city gentrification, the sprawl of gated suburbs in many of the cities globally and particularly in the Global South, are symptomatic of the “intense integration of the real estate industry into the definitional core of neoliberal urbanism” (2002, p.446). Arguably, this produces a deepened polarization visible in the city through the lens of newly revamped old buildings or new estates to which access is determined by

Recently scholars working on gated communities have tried to assess if and how this spatial formation contributes to a closed and inhospitable city, and whether they are an obstruction to a democratic society. According to Atkinson (2008, p. 6) “we need to second-guess how gated communities will fuel further social anxieties, increase social separation and reflect broader social inequalities in exclusive and physical ways. This may be seen as the basic political and analytical commitment required of analysts of all development.” The debate around gated communities tends to try to understand if and how they are a sustainable way of living in social terms or if it is not a way of accentuating differences and new forms of segregations. According to Cséfalvay: “gated residential developments have become a manifestation of the revolt of the upper middle class against local municipalities” (2009c).

The nature of most of these gated communities, and their common characteristics of controlled access and defined boundaries by gates or booms, the presence of a governing body (HOA or body corporate), and their residential or commercial (or both) aspects raises the issues of segregation (what kind of segregation is brought by these urban artefacts?), homogeneity and governance (municipal level vs. neighbourhood level).

In South Africa the practice of gating through barbed wire or more technological devices and walls, has been a constant presence and has now become the norm for many kinds of settlement. This is why in South Africa the case of gated communities is ordinary and exceptional at the same time. It is ordinary because their presence is widespread all over the country (in their very different forms) to the extent that it is almost normalized to the eye of its residents, but on the other hand they are constantly talked about in connection with the exceptional state of the country and its high crime rates, as if to justify their massive and widespread presence.

The phenomenon, in its variations is found throughout South Africa, with Gauteng being the province with more estates and gated communities than the other provinces (Landman 2002; 2003). Various aspects have been researched: vacation estates and suburbs in Durban (Taleb 2005; Durrington 2006; Ballard 2005) and the spread of eco-estates in Cape Town (Lemanski 2006; Welgemoed 2009). The massive presence of estates and gated communities in South Africa is generally associated with the apartheid geography and in the country there is a strong debate as to what they represent as spaces of retreat of the successful and as elitist spaces in which residents enjoy an efficient lifestyle. They are space in between the old dynamics of apartheid and the current transformation.

Spouter (2012) analyses gated settlements in the non-metropolitan areas of the Western Cape. Even though the phenomenon is more visible in urban settings, those non-metropolitan settings are remarkable and need attention, especially because they are seriously linked to estates in the metropolitan region. In Gauteng Chipkin (2012) stresses the difference between townhouse complexes and luxurious estates, referring to a different regime of property and to a different relationship to the old suburb.

Eagle Canyon, the estate under review, is a golf estate, a blend of leisure and lifestyle community, a luxurious space where different institutions are involved in their management. The example of a golf estate is no exception to this trend, for two reasons: it complies with all criteria of private development and management (including the rhetoric on security), and it pursues the condition of a potentially good communal living. Interestingly though, the main condition of its existence is the gate/wall and a legal entity such as the HOA. Thus, the confined space somehow defines the community. Therefore it is important to examine the ideal of community in this space and how the residents accept, live with and circumvent it.

Briefly, the world of gated communities (which in the South African case will be explored deeply in the course of this work), is characterized by a defined space and of a good landscape, an idea of good management of a cohesive group of people that are referred to as a community (this notion will be explored in Chapter Two and Chapter Four), and by a degree of tension between the desire for self-management (be it by the hand of the HOA or other institutions) and the sense of belonging to the city and the nation.

Looking at this phenomenon this way, it is possible to note that many of the issues raised are similar to the ones pertinent to the suburb. The difficulty of doing ethnography into gated communities makes it very complicated for researchers to study them, and to fully understand the implications of these spaces. The line of continuity between the ideal of the garden city, the birth of the suburb and the spread of gated communities is now quite evident, especially concerning questions of institutions and their positions within the city. These two different spaces should not be seen as separate entities, rather it is quite important to read them in a relational and interactive way through which an exploration of the social and the political systems that emerge, is allowed. The purpose of this chapter is to locate gated settlements in South Africa, and specifically in the city of Johannesburg, famously known for being a divided, segregated and arduous space of which the stretch of walls and electric fences are the most tangible manifestations.

To fully appreciate gated settlements we ought to see how they interact with and relate to the rest of the city, and this is possible if adopting spatial and relational perspectives (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Emirbayer 1997; Hart 2006) and if studied using a comparative method within the city (McFarlane 2010). As detailed in the introduction, the relational perspective is here employed to refer both to the way in which residents relate with the space in which they live, but it is also employed to address the processes that lead the residents to see themselves as different and distinct from others to finally address how spaces are defined as good and just and through a system of justification. Starting from the analysis of two different spaces, I tackle the harmony and collision of the different groups to then understand the meanings and the interconnection between the two boundaries. This would mean understanding how the deconstruction of the “gate” and the “community” impacts the understanding of the rest of the city from the perspective of the residents.

In addition, this allows on the one hand demystifying the world of gated communities, and on the other hand singling out their characteristics vis a vis the broader society in political and spatial terms, as well as understanding what kind of systems they create. The reference to the general concept of gated communities is nowadays quite vacuous as it refers to a wide and different set of organized communities and this is why instead of referring to gated communities, it is more fruitful to speak about gating, as an analytical concept. Thinking about the phenomenon of gated developments as entirely embedded in the broader societal system is a way of doing this. In other words it is a call to look at gated developments as constitutive of systems of governance that go beyond that of the gated community itself, as incubators of social and political processes of creation of communities (see Duca 2013 for an analysis of the ideal of community in a Johannesburg golf estate). It is crucial to look at these developments as entirely connected to other parts of the city, of the nation and of the globe, both in administrative and symbolic terms. Approached in this vein, gated settlements are not only a “bubble” (even though I maintain that they are distinct sites of a particular form of disengagement and potentially dangerous to the society) or a geographical entity detached from the rest of the society; they are not only seen as “pockets of wealth”. What do these “bubbles” represent and how are they connected to the rest of society?

The aim of this work is to investigate the political and social systems of a gated development (namely a golf estate) and an open suburb, therefore attempting to connect it to the broader functioning and organization of the city. It will be achieved by studying the symbolic and material strata of the residents’ lives. In line with the relational perspective, it is crucial to provide an understanding of these areas not just as abstract entities, distant and inherently different but also as continuously changing environments and never fully completed. By looking at gated developments as a “different species” we fall into the trap of isolating them and not fully understanding their position and meaning. The next section briefly introduces these issues in the context of Johannesburg.

1.4. Johannesburg: a metropolis. Locating Eagle Canyon and Northciff.

In this section I outline how the estate and the suburb fit into the range of neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, also at the light of the discussion over suburbs and gated communities.

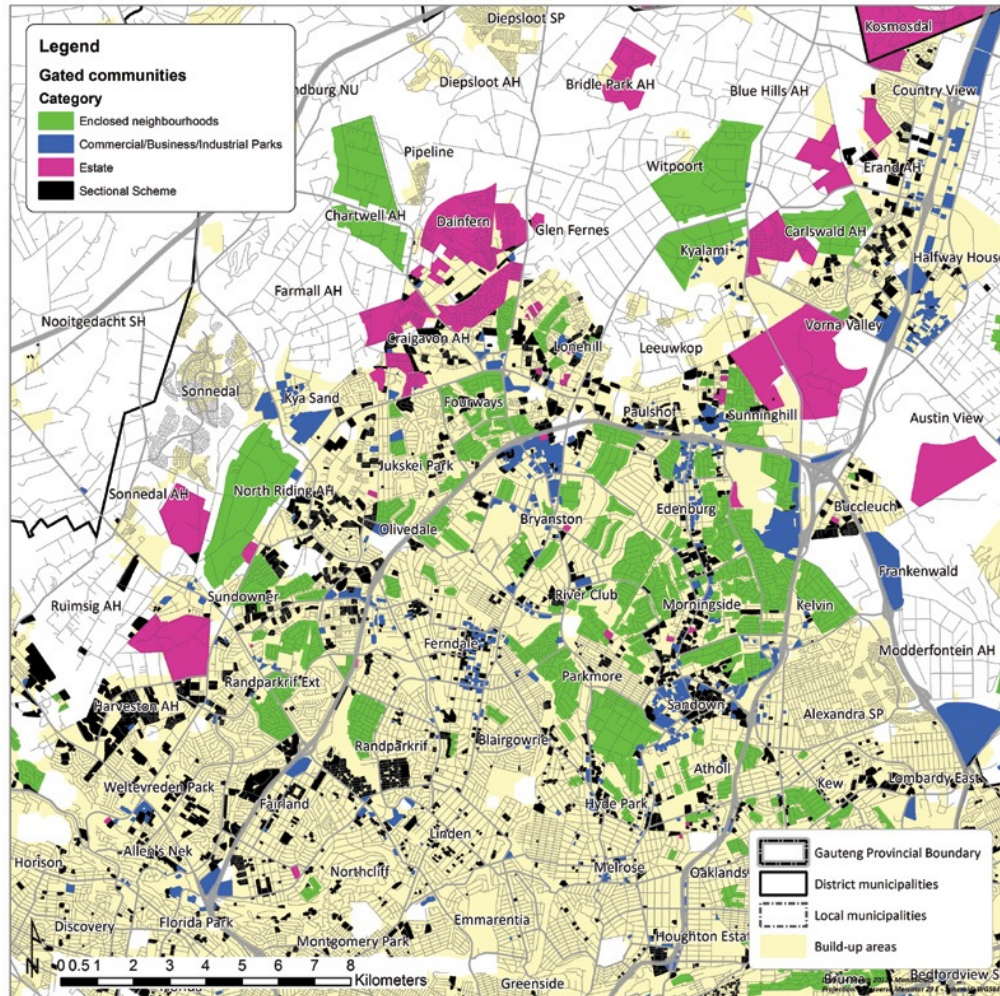
Robinson (2006) notes that further to opposing an easy duality (western/modern, African/traditional), all cities ought to be studied as ordinary. An 'ordinary' approach to the study of the cities, namely "world of cities as its starting point and attends to the diversity and complexities of all cities" (2006, p.1). Robinson calls for the end of categorization of cities and for the need to overcome the "celebration of urban modernity" and the promotion of urban development under which name the ambition to improve life in cities, especially for the poorest is aligned with policy-informed paths. Refusing to place modernity in relation to tradition, Robinson claims that as far as cities and societies are concerned, novelty should not be seen as innovative only in western countries and as imitative in Africa. New York, for instance is as modern as Paris, Rio is as modern as New York and Europe and vice versa. In Rio there is a process of importation of the modern style for the creation of a local elite. The challenge for a cosmopolitan concept of urban modernity is to reclaim the experience of modernity's circulations not as mimicry but as appropriations (Robinson 2006, p.77). It has already been suggested that looking at elite spaces in Johannesburg is relevant to understanding lines of continuity and discontinuity, it is likewise important to understand what kind of relationship the city has with the Northern Hemisphere and the idea of the "World class city".

In the Edwardian era (1901-1910), Johannesburg attempted to replicate the city, the financial heart of the Empire in London, although, perhaps, Johannesburg's spirit was more innovative (Chipkin, 1993). Wealth brought by the mines made Johannesburg a special city. Look at Parktown, "from the start Parktown was planned as a suburb fit for millionaires to live in. All of its stands were an acre or more and there could be no more than one residence to a plot. Streets were wide and their layout broke away from Johannesburg's straight-up-and-down grid pattern to follow the natural contours of the land" (Chipkin 1993, p. 17). Parktown was a closed enclave for the first eight years. Its owners made their own rules and provided their own services. The interesting part of Parktown is its managements, its change into a different suburb, and finally, its connection to Europe in its different phases. "The smart set of Johannesburg still had at least a foot in Europe. Frequently they maintained a second home or a London town house or an estate in the counties" (Chipkin 1993, p. 23). Suburbs in Johannesburg have been created as elite and first world (class) spaces, in a system in which patterns of segregation were rampant. Johannesburg has undergone several changes in the last decades. In December 2000 six metropolitan areas were established as part of the country's most significant re-organization of local authorities after the end of apartheid, with the objectives of unifying the separate parts of the region into a centralised administration in order to facilitate the delivery of basic services, and of promoting the institution of local participatory democracy. At present, the Gauteng Planning Commission, looking at rapidly growing countries such as Brazil or Singapore, agree on the necessity to try to create one global city-region in which to contain the growth,

thanks to which other sub-regions of the country would benefit. In South Africa it occurs mostly, within the province of Gauteng, the most populous, dense and diverse province of the country. The Global City Region has been defined as “...dense polarised mass...of capital, labour, and social life...bound up in intricate ways in intensifying and far-flung extra-national relationships. As such, city-regions represent an outgrowth of large metropolitan areas - or contiguous sets of metropolitan areas - together with surrounding hinterlands of variable extent which may themselves be sites of scattered urban settlements” (Scott 2001, in Tosics 2007, p.780). The Gauteng Planning Commission’s 2009 Vision 2055 thinks of a global city-region in the following terms “Anchored by an urban core, city regions span larger functions areas, whose geographic borders are drawn by a number of concentrations, flows and linkages. These typically include large populations and dense labour markets, commuting flows from places of residence to places of work, transport logistics corridors that move goods and services, firm networks, spatial agglomeration economies, and even water catchment and other biophysical variables, such as rainfall and biosphere reserves” (2009, p.25). Gauteng’s population is currently 11.3 million inhabitants (22.4%, immigration pattern) and the prediction is that in 2055 the Gauteng province will have an overall population of 28 million people. This seems to emphasize the importance of the region and it also informs on the amount of energy required by the authorities, local and provincial, in trying to make the province fit with the standards of the Global City Region.

This seems to shed some light on the new developments that are happening in the country and in the province, as it shows that, despite a lack of formal urban and legislative policy at the Gauteng provincial level, the fast growing complexes and estates in the various municipalities of the province (Chief Mogale, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Thswane), are in line with the dispositions of the Gauteng Development Framework. Johannesburg is the major city of the Gauteng region and it is the one in which the highest concentration of gated settlements could be found. The city is famous worldwide for its crime level and for its extremes. The city is also known for being different cities at the same time, with pockets of progress, pockets of backwardness, multiracial areas and racially segregated ones. Johannesburg is also very interesting as it features a whole variety of ways of living, from the informal settlement, to suburb, to the gated community (in all its forms), to the township and its close connectedness to other cities of the country and of the continent. Map 4 shows the distribution of the different types of gated communities in the Northern part of Johannesburg and it clearly elucidates the presence of enclosed neighbourhoods, office parks, estates and sectional titles. Landman (2012) explains the difference between enclosed neighborhoods and new security developments (gated communities). Enclosed neighborhoods refer to existing neighbourhoods that have been fenced or walled in and where access is controlled or prohibited by means of gates or booms erected across existing roads. On the contrary, new security developments refer to the action of a private developer who buys an entire area and develops it. These areas/buildings are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled access point, with or without a security guard.

Map 4. *Gated communities in Northern Johannesburg. Taken from Landman and Badenhorst (2012)*



The trend of the gated communities, besides being differentiated between enclosed neighborhoods and estates, also presents a variegated panorama within the realm of estates. Table 1 shows that in South Africa estates are found under the register of golf estates (42,3%), lifestyle estates (39,7) and eco estates (9%). Jeff Gilmour, the president of the Association for Residential Communities, explains that it is very important to take seriously the different types of estates. Over an interview at the Clubhouse of Eagle Canyon (on 24th November 2012) he explains that nowadays golf estates are not being built anylonger, due to high criticisms towards them. Interestingly, Jeff Gilmour narrates that in some parts of the counties, and notably Durban, there has been a big controversy about the buy of a sugar cane in order to develop the area, in his words: “the local communities came to him and said forget it there’s land claims. So what he did is he went into partnership with the chiefs in the area representing these groupings of people, these umh communities and entered into a partnership with

them and gave them a percentage share on the basis that it would be developed into a multi-cultural, catalytic development but there have problems there now, that's emerged" (interview with Jeff Gilmour, president of ARC, 24th November 2012).

This is a striking and interesting shift in understanding the future of this kind of settlements in South Africa. According to Gilmour, the industry needs to adapt to the needs and the demands of the new country. However, as the tables show, at present the number of golf estates dominates over other types of gated communities. On top of this, Gauteng seems to be province with the highest percentage of estates (table 2). As the above map shows, estates are concentrated in the northern part of the city and Eagle Canyon is one of those.

Table 1. Types of *Gated Communities in South Africa*. (source ARC)

		South Africa			
		Average age	Developed land used	Value of property	Population
Gated Communities	42.3% golf estates	5-8 years (26.3%)	9.7%	27%	9,4%
	39.7 lifestyle estates				
	9% eco estates				

Table 2. *Gated Communities distribution in South Africa*.

Gauteng	Western Cape	Kwazulu Natal	North West	Eastern Cape	Limpopo	Free State
37.5%	25.0%	17.5%	8.8%	3.8%	1.3%	1.3%

Table 1 and 2 report the Industry Data section of the Association for Residential Communities (<http://www.hoasupport.co.za/joomla-2>) and it shows that in South Africa there are 3000 Homeowner Associations, 56000 Sectional Title Schemes, 5 million people reside in organised communities, with a total of 1.9 million homes. These communities take up 8.7% of developed land and community managers manage assets in excess of R800 billion. Finally, value of property in organised communities is 27% of total residential property in South Africa (we will see later the distribution in the country and in Johannesburg). In

October 2012, the Property Sector Charter Council released information showing that in South Africa the value of property had reached R3trillion.

According to a National Survey by ARC in 2012, Gauteng has the highest concentration of estates (37,5%), followed by Western Cape (25,00%). It is not surprising to see these two provinces at this high level. What is maybe surprising, and it resonates with Phil Bonner's description of developments in rural areas, is a considerable presence of estates in provinces such as Kwazulu Natal (17,5%), and less remarkably in North West (8,8%), Eastern Cape (3,8%), Limpopo (1,3%) and Free State (1,3%). 42,3% of these estates are defined as golf estates, 39,7% as lifestyle and 9% as eco estates and most of the estates are between five and eight years old (26,3%). The high presence of estates is certainly to be associated to the high concentration of businesses and of multi-millionaires. The South African 2015 Wealth Report shows that about 48% of South African multi-millionaires live in Johannesburg, and that they prefer to live in Estates.

Johannesburg then becomes the city in which its new landscape of estates aspires to represent the world class city. Yet, arguably to fully understand the notion of the world class city which is in vogue in Johannesburg at the moment, it is of utmost importance to look historically at the strong links between the South Africa and the European continent, which is not necessarily consciously appreciated in terms of architectural assets, but mostly in terms of lifestyle. It is important to look at the connection created at the time of the foundation of Johannesburg, giving the city a cosmopolitan atmosphere, something that did not make people feel distant from another continent, namely Europe. Despite the "ordinary" aspects of Johannesburg, it is somewhat striking the copious scholarly production on this city. The post 1994 literature on Johannesburg and South Africa has focused on the mushrooming of gated communities, on the nature of the post-apartheid city and on the informal settlements. Yet, scant literature has addressed the changing space of the old suburbs, if not the ones of the city centre, as they have undergone important and visible transformation.

Eagle Canyon and Northcliff represent two luxurious spaces of this city, two spaces that in different ways aspire to be part of a "world class city". Addressing the city in the post-apartheid era means acknowledging the interaction of multiple spheres (Tomlinson et al. 2003) and looking at "a city of colliding worlds" (Bremner 2004), somehow echoing Caldeira's (2000) description of Sao Paulo as a "City of Walls" and Davis' (1990) of Los Angeles as a "City of Quartz." On a social-spatial level, the analysis of the city has focused on segregation, looking at how the wealth has moved to the northern suburbs and gathered in upmarket fortresses (Czegledy 2003). Murray (2011) describes Johannesburg as "a city of extremes," in which the challenge is to balance the pressure of a new image of the city according to world-class standards and the urge for satisfaction of basic needs. Suburban expansion and segregation has been addressed by Mabin, whose contention is that "in suburban South Africa new relationships between public planning and private sector interests have tended to intensify separations related to income, wealth, and forms of employment" (2005, 44). Suburbs (gated) are also seen as places of order linked to the terror and anxieties of living in a society freed from the boundaries of apartheid (Bremner 2004a). Johannesburg has also been analysed by looking at the role of local government in dealing with the new challenges of the city (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002), and looking at its formal and informal economies (Simone 2004). Finally, Mbembe and Nuttall (2008) studied

Johannesburg with the intention of overcoming a functionalist approach to knowledge of the city, thus looking at new cultural and social forms. Coupling an analysis of spatial transformation with the emergence of new institutions, Chipkin has addressed the phenomenon of gated communities (in its form of the townhouse complexes), looking at the communal management of the properties by the body corporate and concluding that a new regime of property (that of the sectional title) is taking place on a large scale and its success is a response to a “broader pursuit of order and community in a world that is increasingly uncertain, unpredictable and insecure” (2012, 74). What do I take of these scholarly works? Does it say something about the ways in which gated communities are studied? Wafer and Dirsuweit for example, link with social governance. But also studies on the informal settlements, do we have some? Informal Johannesburg. Social history of townships. Inner city traders and legalities. Are we really talking of two worlds apart and separeated? To what extent to they collide?

Mabin (2013) has laid out the genealogy of the Gauteng City Region, stressing how its perceptions and concepts have changed over time. He highlights that one constant trait needs to be acknowledged, that is segregation. Segregation is persistent, and upon such principle the planning of the city has been conceived since the beginning of the ninetieth century. Transportation has always been a parameter of analysis of segregation. The social and urban trajectories of the city illuminate the embedment of the city in itself. It illustrates how, accounting for the change of the city, it is important to look at its past, not merely looking at continuities, but trying to unlock if and how the present is a reproduction of old social and urban norms, mentalities and ways of living. Looking at suburbs and gated communities, at their similarities and differences, continuities and discontinuities allows also a deeper understanding of the city in a comparative and relational way.

Table 3. *Relevant concepts for the study of gated communities and suburbs.*

Elite space in Johannesburg: good lifestyle in the city and the country		
	Suburb	Gated Community-Golf estate
	Northcliff	Eagle Canyon
Spatial factors	Spatial fragmentation and segregation-Isolation	
Social factors	Homogeneity and community-Belonging	
Political factors	Institutions and quest for efficiency	
Crime	Crime free society	

Table 1 shows some of the salient points of this chapter and introduces key concepts that are going to be addressed in chapter 2 in order to fully understand the framework of the study before delving into the lives of the two areas of Johannesburg.

2.

Chapter Two

Choosing to live a good life. Theorising segregation, community and justice from an elite perspective.

“In the end South Africa is great: good people, good weather!”
Most recurrent quote from field notes and interviews

Most of the conversations I have had with residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon have produced a similar refrain: “good people, good weather”: South Africa in the end is a good country, a space that hosts good people that can enjoy life under good weather conditions. Discussion of the state of the nation, no matter the gravity of the questions under review, end in the same sentiment. Despite the main concerns about unsatisfactory politics, corruption and crime, securing a nice living environment can help forget the “bad things”.

As it has been exposed the two areas are structurally different, though they share similar socio-demographic characteristics. They are both predominantly white and wealthy spaces and they also share the general feeling about South Africa. However the meaning that they ascribe to the idea of “the good life and the good lifestyle” is determined by where they live and how they live (chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 will describe how these are created).

This chapter aims at providing a schema of analysis of some of the important concepts emerged from the previous one building on literature of lifestyle and on a selection of the vast body of research on gated communities. Chapter 1 provided some insights on how a gated community, and in this particular case a golf estate and a suburb could be positioned within a city, their common legacy and embryonic idea traceable to the ideal of the garden city. It also clarified the strong connection between the north and the south in terms of planning and it finally stressed that the two areas could be deemed as spaces of privilege. The present chapter is a compendium to disclose the system created by the golf estate and how it speaks to broader societal changes.

The aspiration to live a good life is what depicts the global population, depending on possibilities and constraints. Ideas and opinion on how to reach and what this good lifestyle means differ depending on contexts and circumstances. What is ascribed to a good life? How to reach it and what is the aesthetics of it? Where does it take place and what is the materiality of it? Are there institutions that help forging it? The idea of being good people is entrenched with the moral life of the residents of the two areas and a specific lifestyle is associated to being “good” and being “better”.

The idea of the good life is present in both areas. Both residents have chosen to stay in the two settings and they are both conscious of the choices. The following section will deal with some of the notions discussed in chapter 1 and it will do it combining notions of lifestyle, social justice with the ways and the structures in which residents live.

Choosing a specific lifestyle becomes connected to and affected by spatial artefacts and institutional characteristics of the areas. This chapter discusses the world of elite lifestyle linked to questions of segregation, community, choice and institutions.

The remainder of the chapter develops in three parts. The first one illustrates some of the reasoning around the notion of lifestyle and good life, especially linked to the elite group this work has interest in. The second part deals with some of the theoretical explanations of the phenomenon of the gated community, starting from a spatial critique of segregation in a socio-historical fashion, turning into the meaning of the concept of community, and then addressing the role of institutions to finally expose the neoclassical approach of the rational choice. The last step provides a theoretical and methodological framework that not only allows for analysis of gated communities within the set theories, but also building on questions of difference, distance, retreat, helps to place gated communities in their historical, social and economic context. It is suggested that to further investigate phenomena of segregation and distance, privatization of space and autonomy of institution, looking at how the idea of justice is perceived by some of the groups is a useful tool.

2.1. Living a good life: matters of elitist style

The two groups of residents living in Northcliff and Eagle Canyon are elite groups and they occupy what we can call an elite space. There is no universal definition that refers to elite and ethnographic work on this field is certainly needed as, following Lasch, elites are the ones that set the standard of living to which people aspire (Lasch 1996). Michel and Monique Pinçon (2005) talk of elite groups as militant for the maintenance of their wealth and privilege. Nader points out that “if, in reinventing anthropology, we were principally studying the most powerful strata of urban society, our view of the ghetto might be largely in terms of those relationships larger than the ghetto” (1972, p. 289). “Studying up”, as Nader puts it, helps elucidating the world of elites, understanding what kind of common interests they try to preserve for them to maintain their privileges and finally understanding their role in the society they live in. Hunter (1993) suggests that to study elites we need to look at their embedeness with other parts of the community (its structural milieu), to the physical geography of the community (its ecological milieu) and to its position locally, nationally and internationally (its cultural milieu). Structure of society, the position of elites within it, their geographical affiliation and the socio cultural features are nonetheless important aspects that are going to be dealt with in the following chapters. To start with, it is useful to define what we mean by elite and how the concept is employed in this work. Generally the elite is a small group that holds power at the national or at the international level. Rothkopf (2009) talks about a “superclass” to refer to a global elite. For the purposes of this work I refer to the definition coined by Khan for which elite “is about those that have a vastly disproportioned access to or control over resources (social, cultural, symbolic, economic or even human capital), where such resources have a transferable capital” (2012a, p.362). Khan’s take on elite blends together structural factors

with relational ones, dialoguing with the Marxist legacy that sees elites as occupying a dominant position vis a vis society and a Weberian analysis contemplating the impact of power and resources that the elite has on society. Highley defines elites as “persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organizations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially. Put differently, elites are persons with the organized capacity to make real political trouble without being promptly repressed” (2008, p. 3). These two definitions outline the basic characteristics of groups of privilege, stressing their position and their capability of capitalizing on their privilege. Classical sociological theory has dealt with the world of elites at the beginning of the twentieth century. Pareto differentiated between political and non-political elites and maintained that members of elites are talented and deserving individuals. Mosca, following Pareto’s line, maintained the idea of a moral superiority of the elite by the virtue of which the power of a minority over a majority was allowed and justified. Inheritance of wealth and belonging to a thick network of relevant contacts is what makes the elite group a prominent one, which sustains its position through the use of force (be it symbolic or not) and persuasion.

Originally the notion of the elite is coupled with that of aristocracy and aristos, which etymologically means “better”. Here we see a first important element of interpretation of superiority and of “worth” of the group. Interestingly, tracing back the different meanings of elite, a connection to the notion the “elected” is retrievable. In South Africa the aspect of the elected class is extremely crucial as the Afrikaans (part of the political elite during the apartheid regime) considered themselves as the elected class²¹. The elite is then “the better lot” because elected by a superior being for its peculiar power, capability and knowledge. The elite in this sense is a special group, which has inherited wealth and power and that, has achieved a good, wealthy and powerful status thanks to their efforts and to their merit. Khan (2012b) studying elites in New York notes that a new liberal language strictly tied to that of justice has substituted the overtly reactionary aura of elites. According to this author individual capacities matter more than ascriptive ones, thus instead of understanding their position as ascriptive, members of elites become such thanks to their individual capacities and gains. This inversion brings two reflections on the idea of justice in a democratic society and on the question of homogeneity of the group. Elite groups embrace a new language of openness to new different members thanks to a meritocratic approach which allows the rise of the talented, deserving, meritorious individual so that elite institutions start to be those that seem to have embraced the language of openness and diversity.

However this take does not contemplate the idea of justice linked to questions of allocation of resources, in a Marxist view it does not look at dominant positions within social relations, which has become very relevant in the 70s when great income divergence has occurred concomitant to the action of collective movements, which have, according to Khan, produced a very individualized way of looking at success as “one of the consequences of the

²¹ Chapter Four, paragraph 4.3 will deal more precisely with racial relations and the heterogeneity of the elite that inhabits the spaces under review.

collectivist movement of the '60s has been the triumph of the individual and the deaths of the collective. Groups gathered together- Blacks, women, gays and immigrants- to argue that the properties that grouped them and were then used to explain or justify their disadvantage should not matter" (2012b, p. 481). So far, the discussion on elite has expressed the connection between this privileged group with democratic concerns of allocation of resources, the friction between individual and collective gains and finally the challenge posed to the idea of homogeneity of the elitist group. Hirschman (1991) refers to the futility thesis to address the idea that a fully democratic society might not exist and that transformation is always resisted especially when there is a lack of common interest (but the question here is: how does it work in spaces in which there is a common interest such as in gated communities?). In this case democracy and the presence of democratic institutions do not always reduce inequality (Rosanvallon 2011; Ronza 2012). Elites thus have a controversial position vis a vis power and justice. The new language of difference and of the possibility of "making it" individually has also diversified the elitist scene. In fact, while that of the elite is at first glance a very homogeneous group, one that shares a common interest in maintaining its position and a common legacy, it is also important to point out that new democratic institutions have promoted a degree of racial heterogeneity. But more than sharing the lifestyle and the idea of being good, elites sometimes inhabit the same space. The South African case is extremely peculiar in this regard: white and black elite cohabit and share the same space while having different ideas of how and why they are entitled to that position.

2.1.1. The good lifestyle

Bourdieu in the eighties marks the time of the cultural turn looking at the elite structure in a cultural manner incorporating a structural analysis into his critique. Social differentiation and distinction become the crucial points to understand how social and cultural capital work and how do they define the different groups.

Veblen (1899) had already anticipated questions of taste, of attitude and manners as distinctive aspects of the elites and he further stressed the historicity of elites, proposing that in warring tribes the winners would make the losers perform degrading and difficult tasks. The difference between the rulers and the higher status group started to become evident and relevant when the productivity of the workers was contrasted to the high valued lack of social activity of the rulers. Veblen's study of elite is by looking at the leisure activities, the elite becomes different thanks to its leisure and consumption, not necessarily thanks to its production. Veblen's work was a precursor to those studies that emphasized the cultural character to the elite.

A third important take on elite, culture and way of living is provided by the work of Lamont (1992) which outlines how not only structural factors define a worthy and good person, but she stresses the importance of values and morals in assessing the "worth" and the "good" of a person. By looking at how some individuals saw themselves as "better than them", Lamont emphasized the role

of symbolic boundaries and investigated the ways in which meanings are associated to values and moral boundaries.

The three authors have slightly different perspectives on how to look at upper class culture, yet they all address “the way of living” within a group. Bourdieu stresses the role of capital, Veblen the link between elite and the way of giving importance to leisure; finally Lamont emphasizes the importance of understanding values and morals ascribed to certain individuals and groups. Overall the three authors speak to the lifestyle acquired, maintained and perpetuated by the group. Mike Featherstone defines lifestyle as: ‘individuality, self-expression, and stylistic self-consciousness. One’s body, clothes, speech, leisure pastimes, eating and drinking preferences, home, car, choice of holidays, etc., are to be regarded as indicators of the individuality of taste and sense of style of the owner/consumer’ (1987, 55). Reference to lifestyle is indeed crucial when understanding the reasons behind choosing to live in a certain space and the meaning ascribed to it.

Lifestyle affirms the personality and it also defines the social positions of the different groups that use consumption to mark a difference between them. Binkley (2007) draws interesting links between the choice of a certain lifestyle with the strand of government studies (part of this aspect will be elaborated further in paragraphs 2.2.3 and 2.2.4) that stress the increasing force of the market and its relationship with a supposedly decreasing force of the state. The choice of a good lifestyle ought to be studied as a contention between the free choice to adopt it, and the structural constraints that contain or allows it. These in a liberal view take personal responsibility and autonomy as the main motors driving and informing the choices. Cock suggests that in South Africa display of conspicuous consumption manifested in the game of golf (perceived to be the sport that incarnates a very good lifestyle) reflects processes of individualization of success “The social relations [embedded in these processes] involve an intense individualism, a concern with individual advancement rather than collective empowerment, an advancement which – in the case of the new black elite - is marked by conspicuous consumption, social display and an obverse and growing contempt for the poor” (2014, p.2). The “good lifestyle” is associated to the creation of a system of individual social justice from the perspective of an elite that is structured in the society in the lines of individual success and gains. Boltanski and Chiappello (1999) point out in this regard that social inequalities that have deepened in the 90s as response to increasing financialization, delocalization and restructuring of the economy have accelerated this view of individual gains and success, where the decline of social classes has brought about a transformation of the idea of distributive justice with a shift of the social justice system from class based macro-economy to individual based micro-economy (meritocracy). Balibar discussing social justice points out that “the relationship between justice and injustice is one of order versus disorder, therefore a critique of what presents itself as order can only escape the reproach of bringing in disorder by demonstrating its capacity to bring about a superior order, or a genuine order, or an order that is not only apparent but real” (2007, p. 19). This disorder makes then injustice acceptable in order to guarantee happiness “a form of rationality (a way of doing something in order to become something), imposed on individuals through social policy initiatives aimed at the

development and management of populations. To the extent that people are happy, it is believed, they are well governed and well administered” (Blinkley 2007, 113).

As it will be elaborated in the next chapters the South African case fits perfectly within this frame of individualization of success and idea of social justice given by the entitlement of living a good lifestyle in the aftermath of apartheid where restricting of the state, macro-politics go hand by hand with those.

Jackson looking at possibilities and constraints of individuals in dealing with daily life suggest that “though it is rare to meet people who are completely and permanently satisfied with their lot, it is rarer to meet people who expect nothing of life, abjectly accepting the status quo, never imagining that their situations could or should be socially, spiritually, or materially improved. This sense that well-being remains elusive, transitory, and unevenly distributed is felt by the rich as well as the poor, and in all societies” (ix, 2011). In order to make their lives just, ordered and pleasant elites choose to live a lifestyle that has a materiality in the city. Spatially they provide separation, socially a certain amount of homogeneity, institutionally a new form of governance. Lifestyle and the idea of the good life is encapsulated in the gated community. These aspects will be outlined in the next paragraph, keeping in mind that “due attention needs to be paid to variation within countries; ... it means taking cities seriously as cosmopolitan sites, as nodes in transnational networks, and as sites of state power and class formation” (Bonner, Hyslop and Van der Walt 2007, p.147).

2.2. The good lifestyle in the right socio-spatial system

Exclusive habitations promote a good lifestyle. Spatially gates, walls and controlled entrance determine exclusivity. From a social point of view the desirability is given by the feeling of having right to a homogeneous space and to the entitlement to belong to a somewhat privileged group. Institutions such as the HOA guarantee an efficient way of dealing with it. This section reviews some of the main themes regarding the world of gates, community and the system that produces them and that they contribute producing. Chapter One (paragraph 1.3.2) has hinted at some of the main issues connected to this phenomenon, including that of segregation. The following sections illustrate some of the main points regarding this analytical concept from a spatial perspective and positions it within the literature of gated communities, while the following sections will deal with social, political and institutional implications.

2.2.1. The spatial form of lifestyle: gating, segregation and its legacy

Gates, booms, walls, electric fences, restricted access, a golf course and a form of efficient management (that of the Homeowners Association) is what characterizes Eagle Canyon and what associates it to the broad notion of gated

community. Nezar and Roy (2006) claim that spaces such as the golf estate under review are symptomatic of a form of “medieval modernity”. They suggest that contemporary gated enclaves are a continuum of mediaeval assessments, and that walls of exclusion together with some contemporary institutions relate to the ones of the mediaeval reality. This concept is crucial in linking the past to the present, in making sense of gated enclaves vis a vis phenomena of transformation of contemporary societies. Medieval urbanism might indeed be a conceptual framework to understand the contemporary city. The medieval city is about the paradoxes, exclusions and segmentations that have always been associated with the various city forms and urban organization, be them of the present or belonging to the past. For this reason we can talk of the city calling either on Pirenne’s “free town” or on Mumford’s “protected town”, to the extent that there was not such a medieval free town without protection, as well as the concept of freedom, being linked and connected to that of association and patronage.

Keeping in mind this concept of medieval modernity, characterized by this “doubleness” of freedom and protection, Nezar and Roy (2006) suggest that in the contemporary metropolis we can single out three peculiar spatial formations, namely the gated enclave, the squatter settlement and the camp. Three points of convergence between medieval and contemporary cities emerge: the question of citizenship remains relevant throughout the centuries, yet it takes different shapes and references: while it was constituted through a set of individual rights embedded in the concept of the nation-state, now we also see forms of citizenship that are located in urban enclaves (citizenship is associated to patronage in the middle age and to association membership now), second, these forms of citizenship substitute for or are even hostile to the state, we talk about private systems of governance that operate as medieval forms. Finally, these new forms of social and spatial regulation usually occur in the aftermath of big historical ruptures (see for example European integration or the post-apartheid period in South Africa). Johannesburg exemplifies this geography quite eloquently: the city hosts a variety of townhouse complexes and luxurious estates (the gated enclave) and a series of informal settlements that have arose in their vicinity (chapter 3 will speak to this geography and to the connections between these urban forms)²².

The notion of medieval modernity mediates between the need for transformation and the incessant forces that hold transformation in favour of a new, but static set of relations, common and visible, such as for example that of the gated community.

Scholars of gated communities intended as elitist exclusive spaces see their emergence and diffusion as the result of big transformation. Different regional forces behind the diffusion could be summarized as follows: in North America we can relate it to the shift from Fordism to post Fordism which caused fear, instability and the search for a new community; in Latin America the shift from authoritarianism to democracy increased social polarization and criminality

²² The different values and meanings attributed to townhouse complexes and gated estates is going to be discussed in the next chapters, together with the connections of these spaces of privilege with other spaces of the city.

and enhanced a weak state regulation and of local government (Caldeira 2001); in Europe the shift from state economy to market economy as well as European integration have brought to a deeper social polarization and finally in the African continent gated communities are associated with the process of democratization and the securitarian crisis that followed. Critics of this form of habitation point out the fortress mentality that it fosters as these “new developments can create a private world that ... [shares] little with its neighbours or with the larger political system” (Blakely & Snyder 1997: 8). Beuka (2003) reads the walls and the organization that they contain as a different culture from the surroundings, in fact the HOAs of gated developments “... reserve the right to divorce themselves entirely from the denizens of the world outside the gates” by retreating into what is perceived as safe havens. Focusing on the South Africa case Hook & Vrdoljak talk of a “... agenda of separatism ...” and of a “... withering notion of mutual social responsibility ...” (2002, 202-204) taking place in gated communities in order to reproduce and maintain isolation. Physical barricades have historically provided a functional separation between civilized and uncivilized domains for resident communities (Colame and Charlersworth 2011), thus they have had a moral character.

The wall could indeed be a tool of exclusion though which the rejection of a part of society takes place, Marcuse and Van Kempen explain that “walls, literal or symbolic, prevent people from seeing, meeting and hearing each other; at the extreme they insulate and they exclude” (2000, p.20), while Young (1999) talks about symbolic borders functional to the bulimia of our societies that include first to then exclude.

Segregation is linked to exclusion. According to Goffman (1961) this kind of separation stems from a stigma that some people have and that mark their difference both as far as physical features are concerned or as far as the moral status is concerned. As a result the visibility of the stigmatized is different from the normal one. The same consideration can be done in territorial terms. The physical defect of the space (stigma) is associated to poverty and ethnic origins and by consequence to the place that these people inhabit. Following this approach, segregation is not just suffered, but also produced.

The city is then configured as a space of alteration, and Paone (2005) talks about two geographies of the city, one constituted by different areas with separate functions, population, density and the other constituted by an ethic based on exclusion, and which generates from the distinction between the sacred and the profane.

Razac proposes that the fence (which I transfer into gate) is both a sign and an action (2000). The gate with its wires is an instrument of delimitation of space; it denotes private property and makes visible social differentiations. There are two characteristics of the wire/gate and of the division of space produced by it: static (it just signals the division but do not produce it) and dynamic (it produces difference, it prevents, for instance, people to go out or to go in, thus it functions as an action). Razac maintains that the gate is at the same time a sign and an action and that we need to see what it produces in its different combinations, functions and dimensions. In the case of the gated settlements the gate produces the community (after defining the private space) and it defines its organization. In the case of non-gated suburbs the gates are still very relevant as

they define the private boundaries, though, they do not define a collective private space.

Brown (2010) proposes that the neoliberal world manifests itself in walls. Globalization “features tensions between national interests and the global market, hence between the nation and the state, and between the security of the subject and the movements of capital” (2010, p.8). Walls and fences, thus gating, are a constant feature. The world of gated communities represents a pattern of wall within walls. There is a certain way in which these shape collective and national identity but they are also site of production of ideas of belonging.

Sassen (2013) suggests that gates, new settlements and cities from scratch are highly deurbanizing forces, as they promote a gap between the rich and the poor and they deprive the citizens from the engagement with the city. These forces are persistent in the contemporary landscape where “power, whether in the form of elites, government policies, or innovations in the built environments, can override the speech of the city” (219).

Segregation is one of the most glamorous and eye catching analytical concepts employed to describe contemporary’s cities epitomized by the presence of walls and gates. Barbagli and Pisati (2012) refer to segregation as to the way in which space is organized and how it speaks to inequalities and social hierarchies: segregation is then about a form of unequal distribution of people in the space. Manifestations of this spatial assessment are the ghetto, the enclave and gated communities. To each of these spaces different characteristics are associated: the ghetto is associated to an imposition, the enclave to ethnic relationships and the gated community to a voluntary will. Yet, they all maintain a form of territorial stigmatization (Wacquant, 2007).

The concept of segregation refers to “spatial separation of different population groups within a given geographical area” (Saltman, in Huttman 1992, p.1), or to the “unequal distribution of people with common characteristics at a certain place and time” (Friederich, 1977, in Huttman, 1997, p.391). A bit more detailed Peach refers to residential segregation as to “the geographical concentration of a minority group on the basis of its ethnicity, religion, or some other unifying characteristics” (1996, p.137). Hence, according to Peach, segregation is a key factor in modelling and determining difference.

A brief historical analysis shows how the analytical category of segregation has been used to describe and understand the city. In the Medieval times spatial differentiation was motivated by the fear of contagion of infections (the role of the wall was to keep out dangerous people). The necessity of separating infected people from the others fostered the myth of “other spaces”: the utopia of creating spaces devoid of illness.

Later, the industrial revolution brings the naissance of total institutions (Goffman 1961) and started processes of spatial differentiation caused by the difficulty of living in the urban space. As a result the configuration of the city was given by a geography normal moral-ethical of the city constituted by areas with different functions, residents, uses and density; and by a special ethical-political geography of the city in which the most important role was played by exclusion and refusal that stems from the distinction between the sacred and the profane, the normal and the pathological (Paone 2005, p.57). Further analyses of this phenomenon are put forward in line with the Marxist debate. Adopting a

perspective based on the meaning of social relations, segregation is understood as the example of social inequality and it mirrors the patterns of allocation of land, resources and services in the city. In this case, segregation comes in its contemporary form with the advent of capitalism and it triggers struggle for appropriation of goods and services. According to this paradigm, the State, acting consciously to maintain this status quo, is responsible for the perpetuation of an unequal system. Castells (1977) and Harvey (1989) are promoters of this vision: the State, representing the interests of a ruling class, is also the site where struggle take place and where contradictions are reproduced.

Finally, as it has been hinted at when talking about the Los Angeles School of Urbanism, segregation is also studied in connection with the globalising economy. Sassen (1991) refers to three systems: the liberalization of the land market; the real estate market as one of the most important mechanism of distribution and determination of residential, business and leisure spaces in the city; privatization of urban services and the subsequent unequal access to these services. These elements are surely the cause of a double mechanism of physical proximity and social distance. On the contrary the mismatch hypothesis assumes (Wilson 1978) that physical distance coincides with social distance.

Starting from the studies of the Chicago School, the modern division of the city has been analysed in terms of city limits, looking at how different parts of it access to each other and how the social groups (in terms of ethnicity) occupy the neighbourhoods and succeed from a place to another by going through interstitial areas. The Chicago School keeps a vision of the city based on succession, thus segregation and differentiation within the city and its borders are a means of regulation of the socio-ethnic composition of the different areas of the town. Yet, to fully acknowledge the question of segregation, looking at the theories addressing the causes might be more useful. According to the ecological perspective (Massey 1985) segregation is the consequence of an attitude of refusal of other people. The Los Angeles school of urbanism reads structural changes of the economy as the main motor of a new configuration of the city characterized by deepened forms of inequality of which the gated community is the most visible manifestation. The gated community in the contemporary city is also what represents a micro example of “the city as a growth machine” (Molotch 1976), namely an urban part of the city that needs to be addressed as a marketable land in which interests (commercial and sentimental) converge and create a new market in complete dialogue with the rest of the society.

Graham and Marvin (2001) coin the notion of splintering urbanism to refer to the “uneven overlay and retrofitting of new high performance urban infrastructures onto the apparently immanent, universal and (usually) public monopoly networks” set up between the 1930s and the 1960s. A neoliberal economy in the eighties and nineties has produced a double service economy, one of which is the privilege for high-end services or infrastructure that cater for a specific geographic areas of the city, causing a splintering in the use of services and mobility in the city, which seems now evident in the description of cities characterized by gated communities for the wealthy and squatter camps for the poor. Yet, these descriptions lack an understanding of the implications of this splintering, of the role of institutions in dealing with it, fostering it or

counterparting it. Bank (2012) has called for a “fractured urbanism”, where the interest should be located in the interstices of contestation and insurgent urbanism. Beall (2002), looking at Johannesburg points out the couple globalization and social exclusion in cities. In the South Africa city exclusion has always been defined on the basis of “where you are” but in the aftermath of apartheid the excluded are those that are superfluous to the economy.

Gated Communities are seen as the physical manifestation of mutations of contemporary society with its fragmentation, individualism and a different communitarism, they are seen also as the consequence of the penetration of the securitarian ideology brought by political and economic actors (Le Goix 2006). For these reasons they are seen as a pathology of the urban panorama. However Alvarez-Rivadulla (2007) argues that gated communities are not the cause of increased social segregation. Those who opt for this kind of habitation are already distant from other classes. Furthermore Sheinbaum (2008) shows that in Mexico City patterns of segregation marked by fortified enclaves have been concomitant to the colonial urban grid, thus this patterns of segregation were already in place before the construction of gated communities. Sabatini et al (2001) find that gated communities do not necessarily increase residential segregation in the Chilean context. On the contrary, Santiago's gated communities brought poor and rich closer, thus reducing the scale of segregation (Sabatini et al 2001). Safaa Marafi (2011) addressing the case of Cairo talk of gated communities as the containers of the neoliberal dream of segregation and of retreat from society of the affluent that can benefit from and take part in transnational financial operations.

One last important aspect is that of the “fear of crime”, one of the main reasons pleaded for the growth of gates and boundaries in the city. In order to face disorder and crime private urban governance is puts in place a geography of fear (Davis 1999) that at the level of the metropolis is characterized by phenomena of sprawl and suburbanization in the attempt to produce a private neighbourhood unit.

South African patterns of segregation have been well established and systematized during the apartheid period where there was little confusion as to where people were supposed to be positioned spatially according to racial lines. In the aftermath of 1994 these patterns have reshuffled and resulted in unexpected spaces, where race is not the determinant factor of access. Roitman, Webster and Landman produce a framework of analysis based on the assessment of social, institutional and spatial fragmentation caused by gated communities, concluding that, among others “it is pre-existing and underlying social fragmentation processes that lead to gated enclaves, and institutional fragmentation (the emergence of condominium and other co-ownership laws and related legislation and policy) follows to reduce the social and private costs of contractual urban governance.” (2010, 20).

A particularly used notion in South Africa is that of transformation. Gated communities are seen as those spaces in which the apartheid geography is reproduced and maintained. Chipkin (2012) notes that townhouse complexes present themselves in opposition to South African past. They embody a new generation marked by communal capitalism. Segatti and Pons-Vignon (2013) point out the neoliberal transformation of the country produce an effect of being

“stuck in stabilization”. The proliferation of walls and gates fit perfectly in this logic and helps creating a social and political order in cities in which restructuring and change have brought new spatial forms of justification of where people live and what they think.

Materialization of segregation can be of different nature; it can be done with a single wall or with symbolic barriers. Medieval cities have been considered as city within the city. But how is the common lived, shared and managed? Walls redefine the geography of the city, and as it has been said they are just the new definition of old patterns. Is the gated community then a city within the city? Does the fact that there is a different organization make it a different city? Does it produce a system of gatedness of lives and minds? (Brunn, 2006).

The trope of the divided, segregated, fractured, splintered city has been in vogue for quite some time now. It is a way of looking at the city as a space in which there are bubbles, separated and non-communicant among them. They are perceived to be homogeneous spaces in racial and social terms, sometimes they are thought to be the incubators and the promoters of community. In the next paragraph I am going to discuss the notion of community in this urban settings.

2.2.2. Communitarian life

Further to looking at spatial concerns regarding the function of gating and its historical legacy in the city, a different take on spatial manifestation of segregation is to address these forms of habitation as fertile ground for fostering a sense of community. Often the notion of community is a romanticized one, indeed it embodies the idea of something good that must be preserved and that people should long for. However, taking for granted its meaning often misleads the understanding of gated communities. This section problematizes the concept of community and positions it within the framework of gated communities. Is the gated development a space in which there is more community? Do people move in there because they long for community? Are they already a community before they move in it? What kind of community is created?

Over time, different traditions of thought have interpreted the concept of community. The ideal of community is surrounded by the idea that a liveable place is one where communitarian feeling is strong, thus it is recognised as something that needs to be preserved and as one of the most genuine and equitable ways of living. The ideal of community is indeed perceived as something people naturally long for – to the extent that, where it seems to lack, it is created through a meticulous and complex process. This process of building a community can become a pretext to implement a certain type of administration of a place, a strict set of rules and regulations and a lifestyle oscillating between the natural and the rigorous – this is certainly the case of the HOA. To this kind of community building different types of social ties are associated. Tonnies ([1887] 2011) identifies in the nature of social ties the major difference between society and community. In a community setup, individuals act following an “essential will” – thus in the interest of the entire group, as they belong to it. By contrast, in a societal setup, individuals have “arbitrary will”: relationships are of a contractual nature, and individuals adhere to the group in order to reach their

goals. In gated communities the two kinds of will are mixed, as residents are part of small groups while being also part of the system.

One of the criticisms of the ideal of community is that of the longing for homogeneity, coupled with the spatial-social segregation. Segregated enclaves are ones in which difference from within is not welcomed. However, according to Wieviorka (2004), the production of difference is inherent in modern individualism. It can be said that the community found in gated enclaves is one in which different groups, with diverse backgrounds and aspirations, are entitled to assert and stress their identities because they live in a neutral space, and are managed by a governing body (HOA). As Anderson's communities are imagined (1991), so is the overall communitarian project created by the HOA in the estate.

Different perspectives converge around gated communities: the genuine and the created. The ideal of community is thus not only that of belonging and of collective identity. The notion of the created community is linked to what is deliberately built and maintained for the good health of the estate, which relies on certain communitarian sentiments of the residents who do not see the community as the old village or suburb (even when it is narrated that way), but as the structure of administration of the space that it inhabits. Moving away from this Anglo-Saxon tradition and exploring the root of the term "community," Esposito (2004) points out a gain/loss tension in the life of the community whose members are tied by a constraint that is the one of reciprocal gift. One of the reactions to this communitarian duty is the *immunitas* – the possibility of opting out, of reconstituting the identity by keeping a distance from the duties required by the community. The nature of the space created in gated communities (in this case, in a golf estate) is to be found in the relationship between the community and the immunity. In fact, by virtue of immunity (which is the possibility of declining the duty of giving a gift), the identity of the subject/group has a chance to reconstitute itself in a stronger way.

Freie (1998) suggests that the neoliberal economic asset, thanks to which the community we encounter in gated enclaves is defined as counterfeit, mediates the connection between community and the gated enclave:

It is composed of images, symbols, structures, and suggestions of association and connectedness that are false and ultimately exploitive. Unlike genuine community that demands that we actively participate, counterfeit community superficially and symbolically links us to others. It is more spectacle than substance. Counterfeit community projects images of community but keeps us at arm's length by never asking that we act responsibly to maintain the kinds of relationship necessary for genuine community.

Freie 1998, p.5

These developments are linked to the ideals of New Urbanism such as that of walkability and a good quality of life provided by a secure and well-maintained environment, and they try to recreate a village life in a new suburban setting. The gated community has then gained success as a tool to put all these

needs together – creating, according to the dominant criticism, a liveable space for a homogeneous group, thus reproducing the same dynamics of the suburb at a time in which the nature of the suburb itself is changing.

Luiz Lara (2011) talks about how in Brazil the trend of gated communities has become preponderant in the last 10 years, testament to a nostalgia of the upper class for the old type of community and planning. The sprawling and stretching of urban borders have been integrated into town planning, giving a revival to the ideal of the village, which, according to Taylor (2000, 23) “as a physical place and social community, has exercised something of a hypnotic attraction for town planning theorists ever since the industrial revolution.” Blakely and Snyder (1999) note that gated developments are the manifestation of a utopian vision of the suburb; they are themselves part of the suburbanisation trend. These developments are linked to the ideals of New Urbanism such as that of walkability and a good quality of life provided by a secure and well-maintained environment, and they try to recreate a village life in a new suburban setting. The gated community has then gained success as a tool to put all these needs together – creating, according to the dominant criticism, a liveable space for a homogeneous group, thus reproducing the same dynamics of the suburb at a time in which the nature of the suburb itself is changing.

Within this frame the gated enclave is an interesting vantage point from which to look at the contemporary society. The ideal of community is then better explored looking at how it is built, by whom and according to which principles and orientations. As Bosman (2007 p.313) suggests:

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the focus of government mutated from that of the family (characterized by welfarism) to that of the ‘community’ (characterized by neoliberalism). Within neoliberalism the ‘community’ is a site of situated between the ‘free’ market, the Government, and individualism.

Bosman introduces one of the key elements, namely the community as a combination of individual ties with market forces. Bosman views echoes Etzioni’s idea of the good society (2000), which is one that balances three often partially incompatible elements: the state, the market and the community. Advocate of the communitarian thinking, Etzioni promotes “the third way”, in which the state is the partner of good society in dealing with socioeconomic foundations of society, thus not challenging its economic foundations or the production of the community by exclusion (De Angelis 2010), where by law no one is excluded if bound to a contract.

In the South African context the ideal of community has been an important tool of observation. As Belinda Bozzoli (1987, p.5) points out it refers to community organizations dealing with social issues, to trade unions, but it can also refer to “white groups of people [and] in this case, its ethnic dimensions is clearer than in the case of black groups...as in most settings, the word may refer to a social ideal a future state in which communal solidarity and sharing are commonplace. But more usually, it is used to describe present-day groups of

people, mainly black, living in South Africa” (Bozzoli 1987).²³

Community is not only about homogeneity and kinship. The counterpart to the notion of community, is that of individual and individualism.

Roitman points out that “the arrival of gated communities with their physical barriers makes social differences more evident in the city landscape. This has led to a new kind of urban social segregation that is legitimized by law and has different impacts” (2005, 319). This leads to the question of how and who are the institutions and what is their role in creating, modelling and maintaining this community with its diverse spectrum of meanings and understandings. The following section deals with the role of institutions and with their involvement in creating a different lifestyle dictated by rules and regulations.

2.2.3. Institutional Analysis: institutions and segregation

Lee and Webster claim that “China, coming from a very different recent history, is rapidly reinventing local government in the wake of its 1990s land and housing market reforms and discovering that neighbourhoods can be efficiently supplied by entrepreneurs as ‘residential clubs’ (Webster, Wu, & Zhao, 2005; Wu, 2004a, 2004b; Wu and Webber, 2004)”. Always keeping in mind the Chinese case “From one perspective it looks very much like a convergent process of institutional discovery: neighbourhood government is being reinvented in the US as a response to state failure, limits on local taxation and the demand for greater choice and greater local control. In China, with no modern history of the public governance or capitalist city building, strong institutions are also emerging at the neighbourhood scale” (Lee and Webster 2006, p.28). The Chinese case is not a unique case of transformation of institutions. South African state apparatus transformation has been documented widely (Chipkin and Lipietz 2012) and chapter five will deal with the role of new institutions in this context. In South Africa as well as in China strong institutions at the neighbourhood scale are emerging, and the HOA is one of those. Obviously in order to understand its relevance this new institutions needs to be read against other institutions at the play at the state level.

The role of institutions in fostering and promoting segregation is obviously quite central. One of the ways in which institutions promote segregation is that of zoning. According to (1991) these are: a) racial zoning featured in colonial cities; b) zoning of expulsion done through the policies of change of use of the land, renewal plans and regeneration plans; c) zoning of exclusion via restrictive regulations.

One of the main characteristics of the racial zoning is the wish to control the population and the wish of giving a specific order to the city. The main objective of this kind of zoning is to control the population and to make sure that the city is run orderly. One such example is that of South Africa and the Apartheid city:

²³ Posel (1983) suggests that in race and class must be studied in conversation and not as separate entities. Chapter 4 and 5 will deal with some of this aspects when addressing questions of community, values and institutional change.

urban planning of that period was working towards the idea of an “ideal city”, of a city in which social division was granted by specific patterns of separation.

Expulsion zoning is another type of institutionalize segregation thorough indirect policies. It is in fact about the change of use of land. It is often referred to as change of use from residential to commercial or industrial. Expulsion is also caused by city marketing, it is a tool used by planners in order to make the city become competitive in a new global space. In fact these interventions are aimed at improving the urban furniture thanks to the construction of new residential areas and malls as expression of new big change. Eviction of previous residents is usually the protocol followed in order to eliminate those presences that could encumber the process. This is one of the ways in which planning produces segregated areas.

Finally zoning of exclusion is that in which through indirect action, some of the residents don't have a choice but to move out. These can be changing administrative borders.

Coupling these institutional changes with the emergence and diffusion of institutions such as that of the homeowner association helps understanding what is the connection between state and private institutions in shaping individual's lives, preferences and ways of living and their understanding of the “community” in which they live. Institutions work both through the use of force or inducing in a blasé way preferences and ways of living. Next paragraph deals with the extent of the “free choice” of living in a certain space under a set of rule and regulations such as the ones dictated by private urban governance institutions.

2.2.4. Neoclassical economics: the just city

According to neoclassical economics gated communities emerge as the consequence of a rational choice, as a response to the resources allocation system and production of goods and services. It is a market driven solution as it follows the principle of restriction (the club economy) according to which individual benefit from the good and the common that they can afford to buy following a double taxation

In this sense the proliferation of gated communities is the consequence of the failure of the state to provide goods required by a certain social group that adopt an exist option (Hirschman 1970) from society. As it has been stated previously, the gated community acts also as a mechanism of crime prevention through the creation of barriers and social cohesion given by the architecture that restrict space and goods contained in it. Since gated communities aspire to become autonomous, competition among public and private service providers increases and against the idea of Gans (1967) according to which a society tends to be heterogeneous to better guarantee the allocation of resources, it produces a mechanism of double taxation, thus increases forms of segregations.

Buchanan (1965, 1) developed “... a general theory of consumption ownership-member arrangements. With reference to material goods, with private and public on opposite ends of a continuum”. The central theme for Buchanan (1965) gravitated around the determination of the membership margin; which is

that midpoint of the most desirable cost and the most viable consumption-sharing arrangement. This author maintained that due to increasingly more people partaking in consumption-sharing arrangement of an item of a particular size, a point is reached where the personal benefit that an individual would get from that item declines concomitant with more people becoming part of the arrangement. This consumption-sharing results in a congestion of demand and goods closer to the private end of the continuum are reachable and enjoyable through mechanisms of exclusion and a consequent increasing personal consumption satisfaction. Webster (2002) explains that it is the characteristics of consumption that classify goods and services in a city as either public or private or anything along the continuum between the two. The club goods characterizing the gated development is the attraction of potential owners that yearn for the idea of becoming owners of their 'private' piece of the club, thanks to the idea of making a good investment. If translated into a spatial analysis, this theory also addresses a preoccupation with the dichotomy of public and private realms and the material transformation of space. Looking at the mere economic aspect of gated developments overlooks historical, area-specific social and political underpinnings that are not analyzed as contributory factors in the proliferation of such developments in different parts of the world (Glasze 2005). Giroir (2003) studying Beijing gated developments notes that one could apply club goods theory to gated developments as part of a wider closed territorial system or network of gated developments. Thus, rather than applying the theory to individual developments, he proposes that it should be applied to a number of gated developments that together form a system or network.

Neoclassical theories such as the above take the individual as the main unit of analysis. A rational choice is one in which individuals act rationally to maximize their profit and, following a libertarian philosophy a moral superiority of the private is advocated. In this regard Nelson (2005) points out that private institutions can replace governmental services both in new and existing neighbourhoods. It is now worth for a moment to pose on the notions underling these theories. Hayek (1999) introduces liberalism as the equivalent for democracy and freedom, in opposition to state apparatuses in which control and power are exerted through major planning systems, which don't leave individuals with freedom. He identifies in socialism, the predecessor to Fascism and Nazism, one of these systems in which power has been highly centralized (in response to the emergence of liberalism during the Enlightenment) and in which the possibility of competition has been suppressed. As a matter of fact such an approach rests on the system of private property as a tool of emancipation and of contrasting the danger of a centralized economic power that "creates a degree of dependence scarcely distinguishable from slavery" (p. 34). Briefly, it is about an approach to the state in which there is authority of coercion, contrarily to what happens in authoritarian regimes. As he puts it "to decentralize power is to reduce the absolute amount of power, and the competitive system is the only system designed to minimize the power exercised by man over man" (p. 33).

The main question is that there is an aversion to central planning, one that would encumber the achievement of another important characteristic of liberalism, that of neutrality, which, among others, has been exposed by Rawls

in *A theory of Justice* (1971). Rawls justice is about stressing individual's equal claim to basic rights and liberties, and that inequality should only be accepted when it is reasonably just, to use Balibar's expression, when it is needed to re-establish order. That of neutrality is an idea of social contract borrowed from Locke, who sees the state as the neutral judge. The state is intended as the institution that provides "a neutral framework within which difference and potentially conflicting conceptions of the good can be pursued" Kymlicka (1989, p. 883). Neutrality of the state is seen to be useful when dealing with questions of pluralism (religious, cultural and so on), as the state sees citizens as equal and respects their conceptions of good life. In order to act in a neutral fashion, neutrality is required in the consequences of government policy and in the justification of government policy, meaning that citizens' rights ought to be respected through a fair political decision-making process in which all perspectives are taken into account. Neutrality has been at the centre of critiques for being connected to individualism, and starting a controversy between communitarians and liberals, especially with regards to pluralism and multiculturalism. Kymlicka (1989) stresses that the problem of neutrality is not that of individualism, as people are naturally social or communal beings (p. 904). Thus, neutrality does not necessarily lead to atomism and maximization of profits, as communitarians would argue, since individuals naturally pursue the good, sometimes without state intervention. The important question is then over the nature of relations among the individuals (groups, minority, state) to understand the balance of power. The notion of neutrality does not seem to be so acknowledged given the "centrality of group identity" and the power of the "big man politics" (p. 8). At the moment the debate in South Africa gravitates around difference and equality and the idea that group identity can be ignored or overcome. Within this frame, the question would be "how is it possible to achieve a neutral state, where a politics of identity is overcome". The diffusion of gated communities in South Africa poses important questions on the relationship between the individual and the communal. Is the achievement of a personal goal such as that of maximization of profit (value of the property), and broadly or a "good life", necessary distant and in opposition to the idea of communitarian living? Also it leads to ask if freedom of property and of choice, in this case in a gated space, necessarily means a political choice of separation. And finally if living in a regulated estate means that there is a strong planning and concentration of organizational power in the hands of management, would this endanger the freedom of the residents? According to this theory those that choose to live in gated communities are happy to be subjected to double taxation in order to have the right, convenient and efficient service.

Free choice and the idea of equal justice is also to be read in relation to Nozick's "theory of entitlement" according to which only those people that produce certain things hold rights over them as "on an entitlement view, [production and distribution] are not ... separate questions ... things come into the world already attached to people having entitlements over them" (Nozick 1974, p.160). In fact "The major objection to speaking of everyone's having a right to various things such as equality of opportunity, life, and so on, and enforcing this right, is that these 'rights' require a substructure of things and materials and actions; and *other* people may have rights and entitlements over

these. No one has a right to something whose realization requires certain uses of things and activities that other people have rights and entitlements over" (Nozick 1974, p. 238). Linking these aspects to the world of gated communities, this work will also look at how they create a system of justification of their position and how does it intersect with social and political transformation. As Boltansky and Thévenot put it "a polity is a 'legitimate order', that is the 'higher common principle' that will 'sustain justification'. It comes with the principle of distribution" (2006 p. 66). The gated community finds in the higher common principle the common to create and protect within the members of the club.

2.3. A synthesis: studying a system

Marais emphasizes that in the aftermath of apartheid South Africa is a "wealthy country by continental standards...it has more luxury-car dealers than any other country outside the industrialized north" (2011, p. 7), and this obstructs the democratic process (Natrass and Seekings 2001; Terreblanche 2012). Keeping this in mind, thinking of the space that these elites inhabit and of the different spatial and organizational setups, transformation is both a top down process as well as a bottom up. It is a top down in the sense that institutions and markets shape it, but it is also bottom up because the citizens might contest it or give it a different meaning.

Looking at the management of a gated estate from an institutional perspective, following McKenzie (2011) we see that private governance is converging with local governments. A communitarian approach would argue that institutions such as that of gated estates promote communal values (Putman, 2000), while a critical urban theory approach would stress the patterns of segregation and fragmentation of society provoked by this private urban governance (Davis, 1990; Graham and Marvin, 2001). The study of institutions could be enriched trying to understand what role they play in shaping people's identity. In fact the way a certain space is organized is crucial to processes of identity formation, representation and perception of other groups. Sometimes they are deliberately antagonists, at other times they are just embedded in a different organization. Looking at elite, transformation and the city, the focus is on a particular group of citizens who inhabit safe and luxurious spaces of the city, in this case an open suburb and a gated settlement. However, it seems that a deeper interrogation into what is the nature of the group that inhabits the spaces is needed in order to understand what kind of system is put in place and how it relates to other spheres of the society. A spatial analysis with an institutional sensibility is what is needed in order to achieve this goal.

In this chapter I have critically exposed the literature dealing with the world of gated communities, suggesting that in order to look at its nature it is crucial to remove the image of the gate. This form of habitation being only the manifestation of something else, it is important to note that tackling this phenomenon means addressing questions of segregation, polarization, distance in the city and inequality. I have shown that the main strands of literature regarding the realm of cities, private urban governance and sociability do not

seem to grasp profoundly the relevance and the meaning of this urban artefacts of the contemporary world.

The gate creates containers. In the case of spatial assessments they are translated into gates or walls of different kinds, different dimensions, but with the same functions of containment. These containers are not empty, in fact they are inhabited by a form of a community. The terms of the community and for its sustenance as such are not straightforward, community is not necessarily something natural or nice, the community is equally not a homogeneous lot. There is a strong convergence in terms of race and class, and in some cases a strong feeling of belonging to the place and to the city, as well as a commitment to its functioning. On the other side this is also the manifestation of individualism. The community is often governed by a set of institutions that assures an efficient management to which individuals aspire in order to live in an organized manner. Gated communities and private urban governance though do not only guarantee a safe, secure, isolated, communitarian and efficient space. While accepting that in order to understand this phenomenon all of these aspects ought to be considered, I suggest that a more comprehensive analysis is needed. These gates contain and produce elite spaces to the extent that they produce an idea of justice and entitlement at the social, spatial and institutional spheres.

I will now proceed to reveal the universe of the golf estate and of the open suburb providing flesh and empirical accounts to the notions that have been explored in this chapter. Having started with spatial considerations, next chapter will focus on the idea of what the good city is and how it is lived by the residents of the two areas.

3.

Chapter Three

Open and walled landscape: considerations on the good city.

“...we have, among others, an urgent challenge of bringing to a stop the pro-rich housing development strategies that ensure that the best located land that is close to all the best facilities is always available to the rich; a situation where the best land is allocated especially to create gated communities and golf estates, while the poor can only access dusty semi-developed land far away from modern infrastructure...”

Extract from Address by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki
at the Opening of the Brickfields Housing Development
at the Newtown Cultural Precinct
Johannesburg, August 12th, 2005

In 2005 Thabo Mbeki speaks loudly against the creation of gated communities in South Africa, the epitome of the difference and distance between the rich and the poor of the country. At the time of the speech South Africa was already home to a critical number of road closures and estates and they were already changing the landscape of the city. Road closures are different from estates as they refer to pre-existing suburbs which are gated (with booms) on account of safety and security issues. Estates are built from scratch starting from the conversion of a piece of land, as in the case of Eagle Canyon, where from a sand quarry, a new golf estate has been developed. Mbeki's speech addresses two remarkable issues, the first one linked to what residents feel about living in a “good area”, with many of the estate residents using this part of his speech as a redemptive mantra, since nowadays (almost ten years after the speech) living in such privileged areas is no longer a “white issue”, thus to their view ideals of equality have been betrayed by the ANC itself, whose members decide to reside in those areas. Most white residents of gated communities and luxurious estates try to react to what they see as the main popular criticism towards the presence of this form of habitation. In fact during conversations with white residents it is not uncommon to hear comments such as: “but you see, it is not only us, you would be surprised to see how many black people live in the estate”, as to prove that to live in exclusive gated spaces is not necessarily something that white people opt for. The second issue is related to the diffusion of gated communities into many different forms, thus Mbeki's view on this matter is in stark contrast to the trend on gated communities in South Africa. In July 2001 a new White Paper on Spatial and Planning and Land Use Management had been released by the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs. This paper promotes a fully integrated plan under the auspices of sustainability and equality. From the paper:

“General principles for land development. These principles reject low-density, segregated, fragmented and mono-functional development, and rather

embrace compact, integrated and mixed-use settlements. All decisions taken by all spheres of government that involve the use and development of land have to take into account these principles. The principles thus attempt to impose a broad policy direction on the many decisions taken in terms of many different laws. Their implementation to date has been patchy. This is noted comprehensively in the Green Paper on Development and Planning. This White Paper proposes that the principles be streamlined, to make them more easily understood by decision makers, and that their implementation be carefully monitored at a national level”

2001, 7

The guidelines and the directions of the White Paper have not been explained further, especially in terms of implementation and understanding of “low density”, “segregated” and “fragmented”. The reality is that the South African population finds itself facing a scenario in which the industry of the gated enclaves (for now we do not use the notion of community) is very prominent in the country (as it has been shown in Chapter 1) and it has expanded rapidly over the last decade, diversifying itself and contributing to and creating a varied landscape in terms of urban scenarios, levels of governance and organization. As difficult as the task of quantifying and categorizing the phenomenon is, it is still possible to have a general idea of the scale, precisely because it represents a very impactful change for the country. However, a comprehensive overview regarding the statistics of suburbs in the country, of the population living in suburbs and the governance of these spaces does not seem to be easily achievable. As a matter of fact, the figures regarding residential gated settlements are reliable and easy to access, given that the industry is trying its best to show itself as a reliable, accountable and successful, marking the difference from the way in which suburbs are governed by the local municipality. The pervasiveness of estates, complexes and boomed areas requires an investigation of how it shapes the space of the city and how it rewrites its geography.

The first step to understanding the system put in place by the golf estate is to look at its physical characteristics and its position in the city, thus its spatial relationship to the suburb. Spatial assessments are crucial to the perception of the space in which we live. A meticulous ecological description of the areas will reveal their intimate connection and the ways in which respective residents make sense of the walled landscapes they experience daily. The aim of this chapter is to understand what kind of spatial relationship is in place between Northcliff and Eagle Canyon and how they relate to the overall city. Resting on Elias distinction between the Established and the outsiders (1965), the chapter argues that attachment and feeling for a place are linked to the knowledge of the area and to the time of residency. Approaching the city in this way, especially when looking at physically enclosed spaces, means addressing invisible boundaries.

The golf estate shapes a vision of the city, and the expectations of what an ideal city is, is based on its standards (nice internal landscapes, well maintained gardens, regular architecture that gives a sense of order) and puts it in contrast to the life of the suburb. In the case of Johannesburg it creates a different way of looking at the city altogether. It gives the idea of a new and modern space, where

tradition can be observed, but in a private space. It starts to give an idea of who is associated with a certain space and why. The chapter ends by arguing that oversimplifying rhetoric of segregation and fragmentation is not fruitful in addressing the world of gated communities. This chapter refers to the previous discussion on segregation and the just city and it argues that if the wall of the estate does not produce a different way of navigating the city, the lived geographies of the city are definitely affected by what is considered to be the “good environment”. The residents of the estate rely on the niceness of their internal landscape to prove the worth of their space, while the residents of Northcliff rely on the fact that they are “established” to prove their difference.

3.1. Johannesburg and beyond on the move: understanding lived geographies.

There is a way of thinking of the city that is linked to where we live: as it will be shown views over the city of residents of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff are profoundly affected by their residential position. However, it is also crucial to acknowledge that often the knowledge and the feeling towards the city are informed by underlying historical dynamics and established patterns of attachments. This paragraph will outline how the position of the estate and the suburb affect the way residents feel about the city of Johannesburg in a socio-historical perspective.

The planner Mario de Cicco from the City of Johannesburg points out that the expansion of the city has been done through a process of densification, expanding the right to ownership (as opposed to the Rent Control Act that required properties to be rented rather than owned). It is reported that “by 1936 Johannesburg was reorganized as the “largest and most densely populated European city in Africa” (Chipkin 1993, 105), however the suburban expansion towards the north in the 70s necessitated further densification.

During the apartheid period both ownership and residency in certain areas had a racial connotation (regulated by the Land Acts), thus the process of densification that started in the 70s with the Sectional Titles Act was mainly directed towards the white population. The Sectional Title Act became the main juridical tool of development as people used to develop and sell “division of buildings into sections and common property and for the acquisition of separate ownership in sections coupled with joint ownership in common property” (Act 95 of 1986 Sectional Titles Act). Sectional title development started in the southern suburbs and in the central suburbs such as Berea, Joubert Park and Hillbrow, suburbs more densely populated than the new ones in the northern direction and still now, although with a different socio-demographic connotation, they are the most densely populated suburbs of Johannesburg.

The process of densification through the construction of complexes and gated settlements is now taking place elsewhere, on the outskirts of the city and at the new borders of the city region, as a way of reusing complexes and sectional titles and estates (where there is a combination of full titles and sectional titles), thus densification of the area is taking place.

Talking about contemporary Johannesburg, planner Christo Botes makes the point that:

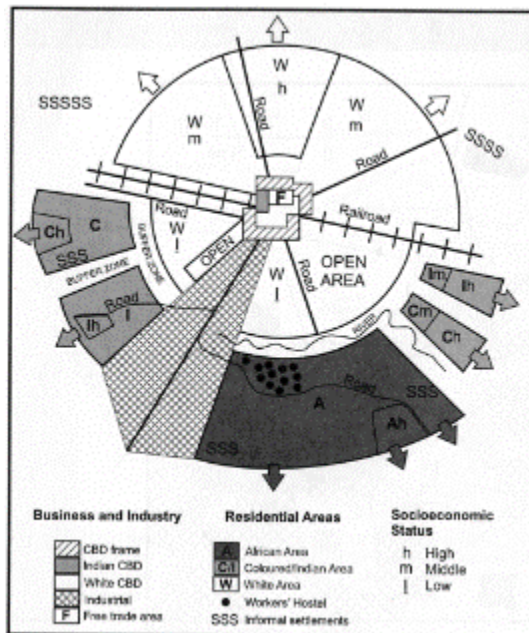
“...what that boundary has now done is to create what we refer to as urban densification so hence you get high rise apartments buildings coming up all over the place and that where the townhouse complexes come about as well, we refer to as densification and it is actually supported by council that’s the way that Urban densification is required, one for the traffic problems that we have, you know the further you are from your place of work the more traffic you have but with that the provision of services, bulk services, storm water and all of that is expensive over distance...”

Interview with Christo Botes, October 3rd, 2012

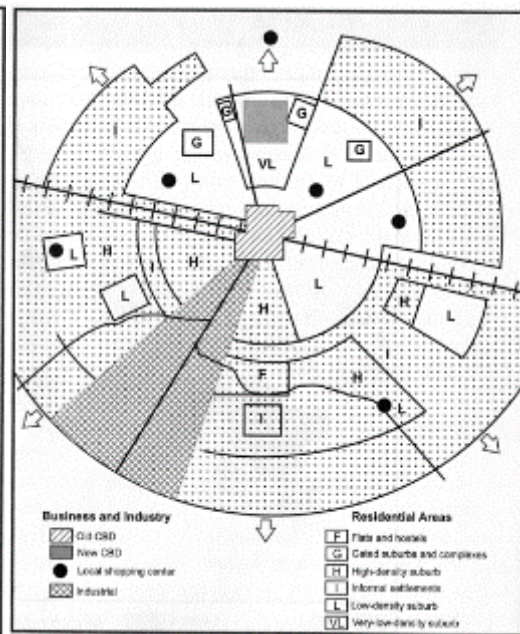
The suburbs have been built following the example of the garden city (see Chapter 1), while the centre of the city was seen as an immoral space, attracting prostitutes from Cape Town and Eastern European countries (Van Onselen, 1982).

With the expansion of the city, the migration towards the north did not follow a natural progression because of pass laws and the land acts which formalized patterns of segregation. The topography of Johannesburg seems to challenge much of the way the city has been conceptualized in classical urban sociology, blending aspects of succession and expansion of the concentric model elaborated by the Chicago school with the incessant sprawling of post-modern urbanism.

Map 5. *The late apartheid city.*
Adapted from Simon (1989)



Map 6. *The late post-apartheid city.*
Adapted from Christopher (2001)



Johannesburg has been characterized by a series of sudden changes. Its timeline is very interesting if one looks at how the city has constantly evolved into something different. Gevisser discusses some of these changes:

“ The original Johannesburg was held to a tight, European-style urban grid, but the new Sandton has no such constraints, no master plan, aesthetic or urban, to hold these spires together in the landscape; there is no interest among its developers, either in communicating with one another. Johannesburg’s gilded new city-on-the hill, established to provide sanctuary to capital as it fled the decaying inner city, is a product of the grab-what-you-can frontier mentality that has driven the mining settlement from the beginning”.

Gevisser 2014, 23-24

Johannesburg’s growth is quintessentially suburban. The electric tram was the protagonist of the residential growth of the city from 1902 until 1939 (Hart 1964, p. 10). From the 40s until the 70s the city has undergone a modernization process thanks to the automotive transport that permitted the extensive urban sprawl which one associates with the modern city (Hart 1964, p.11). During this time the residential areas expanded to the north and to the south. The city started to take its current shape, the sprawl and the stretching of the city was linked to the changing social structure of the city centre, new centres of gravity (Sandton) and an emergent suburban life. The car has become the central means of transport for residents aspiring to live in these suburbs.

Maps 5 and 6 give a clear sense of the development of the city. It is possible to note that the old city centre has been substituted by the Sandton one, in the northern suburbs. The northern suburbs have remained inhabited by more affluent families, however the type of habitation has changed. The post-apartheid city sees more complexes and gated communities surrounded by informal settlements, offering a new landscape and a new configuration of the city. As the maps show in the post-apartheid city there are not racially connotated spaces and the informal settlements are not confined to the northern part of the city. As it has been elaborated in Chapter 1, the complexes are variegated and they have different meanings for the residents, however it is important to stress an established pattern of newly built estates in proximity of informal settlements.

Unlike aspirant world class cities, where structural or administrative impediments have placed limits to uncontrolled urban sprawl, Sao Paulo and Johannesburg have experienced extensive growth and development where the city boundaries have pushed the urban frontier away from the traditional urban core. Similar to cities such as Los Angeles and Las Vegas, the built environment of these two sprawling megalopolises exhibit the characteristic features of peripheral urbanization, exaggerated fragmentation, and central sprawl (Murray, 2005, 143)

The Gauteng Planning Commission (GPC), looking at rapidly growing countries such as Brazil or Singapore, focuses on the necessity of trying to create one global city-region, encouraging growth such that other sub-regions of the country can benefit. In South Africa this type of growth and development occurs mostly in the province of Gauteng, the most populous, dense and diverse province of the country.

Gauteng's population is at the moment made up of 11.3 million inhabitants (22.4%, in-migration pattern) and the prediction is that in 2055 Gauteng province will have an overall population of 28 million people. This seems to indicate the importance of the region and it also gives an indication of the amount of development that is needed by the authorities, local and provincial municipalities, in trying to make the province fit with the standards of the Global City Region. New developments are part of this process and despite a lack of formal urban and legislative policy at the Gauteng provincial level, the fast growing complexes and estates in the various municipalities of the province (Chief Mogale, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane) are in line with the dispositions of the Gauteng Development Framework. Johannesburg is the major city of the Gauteng region and it is the one in which the highest concentration of gated settlements can be found. The city is world famous for its crime level and for its extremes. The city is also known for being different cities at the same time, with pockets of progress, pockets of backwardness, multi-racial areas and racially segregated ones. Johannesburg is also very interesting as it features a whole variety of ways of living, from the informal settlement, to the suburb, to the gated community (in all its forms) and to the township, and it is highly connected to other cities of the country and of the continent. Murray (2011) describes Johannesburg as "a city of extremes" in which the challenge is to balance the pressure of a new image of the city according to world-class standards with the urgent need for satisfaction of basic requirements. Suburban expansion and segregation has been addressed by Mabin, whose contention is

that “in suburban South Africa new relationships between public planning and private sector interests have tended to intensify separations related to income, wealth, and forms of employment” (2005, 44).

3.1.1. Feelings about the place: choosing to stay in Northcliff or in Eagle Canyon.

“We used to live in Northcliff, then we moved to Eagle Canyon, we sold the house there and we bought one here, but the house is on sale now, we are going to go back to the system, we want to be out of here, we don’t know how we will feel after five here, but schools are too far and we spend long hours driving to take the kids to school, our church is in Randpark Ridge and we want to have a bigger house with a garden, and not close-by neighbours. It is very nice here, you will [be] safe and protected, but we want to be free and close to the schools.”

Conversation with the Smith Family
Resident of La Bellucia, Eagle Canyon
September 25th, 2011

The family Smith is one of the few exceptions. It is indeed the only family I met that moved into the estate and then moved out again to go back to the open suburb. Generally those that try the “estate life” do not feel comfortable going back to the open system; rather they prefer moving to another estate, maybe better managed or located in a more convenient area. However this piece of conversation outlines some of the features of life in and out of the estate. Eagle Canyon, apart from being uncomfortably located for school and church needs, also does not provide the opportunity to have a big garden and it is too densely populated. The Smith family finds in the open suburb a better place to carry on their daily life and they briefly announce the main requirements that a place must meet in order to be a comfortable and desirable one. Closeness to schools, to hospitals and a wide and open space in a safe environment is what residents long for.

Lynch (1973) in his seminal work on the city and architecture assesses the readability of the city according to its physical and social characteristics and he concludes that five aspects make a city readable: paths, or channels through which the person moves (these can be streets, pedestrian zones, public transport lines, railways); then there are the margins at the border between two different spaces, these are also interruptions of linearity such as shores and walls and could constitute barriers (more or less open) and they create a divide of the areas; neighborhoods are also contemplated by Lynch as zones of the city in which the person enters and can identify and name them. A further aspect is that of nodes, namely strategic sites of a city in which it is possible to enter and they are the vantage point to move to and from (they could be conjunctions or simply passages from one structure to the other). Finally the author sees in these references physical objects well defined that help identify the place.

The above elements help understand the perception of the city and might assist in finding some elements for the measurement of segregations. Linearity and readability of neighborhoods, their peculiarity or the presence of a particular view that conveys openness and not closure are factors that contribute to the creation of a desirable city. Jacobs claims that diversity in the city facilitates its “living together” and its perception of security. According to Jacob the neighborhood should accomplish the primary functions that ensure the presence of as many people as possible in the street at different time of the day. People might use the streets for different purposes, yet they all should be able to use its facilities, and finally, a high density of population of the area gives vitality and vibrancy to the neighborhood (Jacobs, 1961, p.140). Lynch and Jacobs produce and represent ways of looking at the city and at space that contemplates its structures, yet they do not delve into the perception of the spaces and their meaning for their residents, and what is engendered in the space, and what are the main consequences of it Gans (2002). The space is embedded in dynamics of power, it is used and lived in by people passing through, residents and buyers. Space is used for production and reproduction, it is where activities such as buying and selling, allocation and distribution take place. According to Gans (2002): “natural space becomes a social phenomenon, or social space, once people begin to use it, boundaries are put on it, and meanings (including ownership, price etc.) are attached to it” (p. 329). Looking at space in this fashion allows one to ask questions as to what it is that residents ascribe value to, in that specific space and how they think of it.

De Certeau (1984) deals with the distinction between place and space, the first one is “the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence”; meaning that a place is “an instantaneous configuration of positions” (107). Place in this instance is stable, it is something that does not move, something we can look at in an objective way, such as the houses and the suburbs, their organizational framework, their departments and shopping centres. All these elements are there to help the residents navigate the areas and assist with their functioning and leisure activities. On the other hand, “[a] space is composed of intersections of mobile elements” (De Certeau, 1984, 117), of residents that move across the place and live in it and who make sense of it and live it in different ways. De Certeau offers the example of people walking on the street. Pedestrians transform the street from a place that is “geometrically defined by urban planning” into a space (117). While a specific street is a place with clear material aspects, (asphalt or dirt, sidewalks or no sidewalks, a straight path or a curvy one), that do affect the kinds of activity that can occur on it, these material aspects do not determine, for certain, what will take place on it. The landscape is a crucial aspect that contributes to mark identities. As Harvey (2004) puts it, aesthetics enhance and naturalize class privilege, expressing the pleasure that one takes in the concrete materiality of things in themselves.

Elias (1965) identifies two groups of residents of Wiston Parva, the established and the outsiders. He proves that despite the same socio-economic background of the two groups, the older group, the established in the area, was more welcomed and accepted than the new one, the difference being precisely

the year of arrival in the city. As this chapter develops, the parallel of this metaphor with the South African case will be made explicit.

“Established” is what in most cases residents of Northcliff use to describe their suburb. Northcliff is indeed an established secret of the city. Driving through some of its main roads old trees provide shade and create a pleasant atmosphere. The suburb is old and despite minor changes it is very similar to the way it looked a long time ago. Residents claim to live in such an established space because 1) it has a history, which is mainly linked to its agricultural past and its residential present, full of green, parks and residents that work and take care of it 2) many of the residents have lived there all their lives and despite some changes they feel that the place has not changed 3) residents often compare Northcliff to new parts of the city 4) it is also considered different when contrasted with new developments, because of their position in the city and of the lifestyle that they promote.

Northcliff is a family oriented suburb. Many of the residents of the area have been staying there for a couple of generations. This has contributed to the creation of a solid network of relations, even though it is very common that residents claim not to know their neighbour, because nowadays everything has changed.

“When we moved up in Friederick Drive – the main road of Northcliff – from the East of Johannesburg in the early forties, we did enjoy a very big house with a nice view, we had a big plot with a massive garden and we used to know everyone in the suburb. The view from the ridge was great. I had just started working as a hairdresser and my husband did build a little saloon for me at home. I used to have many clients from the area, so many ladies used to come from around here. Then we moved to this house, not quite in the most glamorous part of the suburb, and I kept working from home. I did keep quite a few clients for a while, but now the ladies have aged and some of them passed away...I still work but I feel that we have lost that network.”

Conversation with Justine
Resident of Northcliff
May 24th, 2012

Stories of being in the suburb, for moving in a long time ago or of moving out vary. It is possible to break them down into four different groups of residents of the suburb.

The *veterans* are those that have moved into Northcliff in the 60s or 70s, after it was established. They moved in when the plots were one hectare big, most of them with big gardens, and a swimming pool. These residents have been there for generations but currently there is a typical pattern of some of these properties being divided in order to build smaller complexes, both to sell or to keep for the future generations. One of the veterans’ testimonies:

“Belle [my wife] liked it. That was the attraction, I think it’s one of the nicer areas in Jo’burg; but I didn’t know any different from Northcliff. We looked in Northcliff, Forest Down, Parkview... Belle had her heart set on Northcliff.”

“Well it was a good locality then, you know? And one of my boss’s daughters lived here. But when we looked, we kept coming back here somehow. You know how places grab you. I used to live in Observatory, by Yeoville, There... the Bruma Lake used to be a farm; owned by the Bezuidenhoudts; and we used to go there and play – just climb through the fence. And now it is horrible, but I haven’t been there in ages.”

“There have been no dramatic changes. When we moved here I suspect most of the people were young married couples; and young families. Those families are grown up and have their own families now. A few of them stay in Northcliff. One or two stay in Edenglen, and others stay all over the place. It’s really a few who are left here. There were not very many gated communities in Northcliff itself.

Louis Breckendrige
Resident of Northcliff
June 3rd, 2013

The discussion over neighbourhoods is quite informative of the type of place that people imagine as the right place to live. Observatory is located in the east part of Johannesburg, not far from Yeoville, one of the neighbourhoods famous for its vibrancy in the 70s²⁴. The residential part of Observatory is now a boomed-off area and a new commercial and residential Chinatown has emerged.

Another testament to this kind of experience is that of the family I lived with in Northcliff. Over conversations at lunch or dinnertime on the patio they would tell their story. They moved into one of the big houses on the ridge when they were young and they had got to know about the house, famous for having a big piano. For more than 40 years they have been staying there, until some financial problems occurred; they then moved to a more modest house in Berario, still close to Northcliff. Before moving to Northcliff they were staying in the south, but then they decided to move to a better place, where they could set up a business in the house. And the big houses of Northcliff could allow this.

Other residents describes his choice of buying a house in Northcliff:

“That was purely fortuitous. I just wanted to buy a house, really anywhere, Northcliff or Berario, almost any part of Johannesburg in the north and I saw several houses, none of which I wanted to buy and then I saw this one and I liked it straight away. The house and garden, it has a big garden and I like the space and so forth. I suppose I wouldn’t mind living in some of these up-market areas but I

²⁴ Paragraph 3.3.2. will provide a map of the city of Johannesburg highlighting the position of the suburb and its distance to other areas.

wouldn't switch now, I really like Northcliff. It is an up-market area but it is not top of the market, it is not the millionaire's area but it is a nice area".

Ray White
resident of Northcliff
June 15th 2012

"I am very excited to stay in Northcliff because it is a very quiet area, lots of trees, lots of birds. It almost feels that you are not rushed here. It is also a central area and to me it is a charming little dorp. From an economic point of view there is a lot of powerful people that have chosen not to be in the economic hub of Sandton, but to stay here. Incredible people were grown here".

Annemarie
resident of Northcliff
December 7th 2012

These two residents show that living in Northcliff is a pleasant experience as the houses are big, the landscape is natural and the suburb enjoys his prestige even if it is located far away from the economic hub of the city.

A women that usually plays golf at the Randpark Ridge Golf Course explains how the upmarket character of the area, the niceness and the dimension of the houses and the view are determinant factors:

"It is an upper market, considered quite safe, but it is not. It seems as if more richest suburbs are being targeted. We have never considered moving. Before we were in Randburg, but the house was too small. We have boy scouts, tennis courts, country club the golf course is within striking distance. I have been playing golf for 8 years. The recreation centre is in Berario (it is out of the way for me, I know it is there). I shop at Cresta and at Woolies. There is a gorgeous view from the top of the ridge and a nice park... We tend to stick to our favourite areas, we are predictable people. We go to Montecasino for theatre. Clothing Cresta and Hyde Park."

Sue
resident of Northcliff
May23rd April 2012

The other group is that of the *returnees*, residents who have grown up in the area, moved out for a while to go to other parts of the country for business or even overseas, and then decided to go back to Johannesburg. In this case, the choice of staying in Northcliff, Fairlands or Berario was quite straightforward. This is the case of Ingrid the Ward Councillor.

“I was born in Fairlands, and my family has always been there, this is my spot in Johannesburg. And I like to be involved in it.”

Ingrid Reinten
Ward Councillor 89(Northcliff)
19th November 2012

These two groups of people are the ones that feel strongly about the suburb, they love it and have an emotional attachment to it. When asked why they do not want to move, they claim to live in an old style suburb, and for many of them this has implicitly racial connotations. The landscape is what keeps residents in the suburb. The houses in the privately walled suburb are not subjected to rules. Many of the residents are happy to put up walls and fences and they feel that this is what is lacking in estates and complexes. In this sense it seems that residents enjoy being responsible for their own safety. What is important for the residents is the quality of space. Residents have often claimed that they do not want to move to complexes or estates because they want to enjoy the open view of the suburb. And because they do not want to live in a high-density space, which is what most urban estates offer (obviously the experience of non-metropolitan and rural estate is different as their most important characteristic is the dimension of the plots, the privacy granted by them while being in a secure estate).

Along the streets of the suburbs there are no shops. Shopping is done along the main road, Beyers Naude, where Cresta Mall is situated and where other little shopping complexes can be found. This contributes to make Northcliff an old suburb that has maintained the same characteristics. Also there is the ridge and the park, two important landmarks apart from the shopping centre, Cresta, where mostly people shop and go out for coffee with friends.

The third group of residents is that of the *newcomers*. This group of people is the group that has come with the transformation of the suburb. Estate agents and councillors tell that some of these families are black and Indian and that they are changing the landscape of the suburb. Despite no reliable statistics on this, the author has gathered that there is no racial shift in the suburb.

The last group is that of the *departed*. The departed are those who have moved to other areas. Obviously there is not much information on this group, precisely because they have left. What can be said though is that many of these residents were victims of crime and have decided to move to safer areas. One of these is Eagle Canyon.

“The first impact with Eagle Canyon has been quite unique, it is located in an area of the city which I don’t know yet, thus very far away from my idea and imaginary of Johannesburg.”

Fieldnote,
March 3rd, 2011

Ivor Chipkin gives a sense of the area in a PARI short essay (2012). Besides the morphological description of the place, he also traces its socio historical trajectory, one surely determined by a sense of backwardness and modernity at the same time. Hyslop (1999) notes that the area of the West Rand, and

Roodepoort in particular, was the centre of a vibrant community in the 80s when “The need to change propelled whites into constructing new narratives of the self. This self was characteristically defined in terms of a certain style of consumption, which people of varying socio-economic positions would label as 'middle class'.” (1999, 5).

Nowadays Roodepoort and the West Rand are not considered to be innovative areas of the City of Johannesburg, though, as will be discussed in this chapter, many people aspire to live there because it is new and modern thanks to the presence of new developments such as estates and complexes.

Eagle Canyon is a fairly new Estate and it has been built in a very particular area of the city of Johannesburg. Consequently the way residents feel about it is influenced by the space they are in and what it represents of the overall city and nation. The feelings about living in Roodepoort are mixed for many of the residents, and it depends on their background. For some of them it is a natural move from the suburbs, for some others it is a coincidence, for some it is an upwards mobility movement. The main characteristic of residents outside Eagle Canyon is that of difference. If it is true that they might frequent the same shopping malls and the same nurseries, it is also true that they feel extremely different.

In Chapter One I have described my first visit to the estate, stressing how I was struck by the way the marketing manager kept emphasising the niceness of the estate and its capacity to meet the needs of hard working people.

What represented the niceness of the estate? What are the characteristics of it? What makes it so appealing to more than a thousand residents? What kind of landscape was she talking about?

Residents of the estate share a common view of the place or of its lifestyle. All of them share the same vision of what good governance is, but not many share the same vision of how to reach it. Many share the idea that the estate is well run, but not all of them share the same vision of the area in which it is located. As in Northcliff, the residents of Eagle Canyon can be subdivided into different groups: *those who have an affection for the area, those who are sceptical of the area but happy with Eagle Canyon, and the departed.*

Those who have affection for the area are those residents that have always gravitated towards Roodepoort and Krugersdorp, and are the ones that appreciate the landscape and the nurseries around the estate. They have grown up in a natural and simple way, even though they have made enough money to move into the estate. For them the move to Eagle Canyon is not a major change in the way of looking at the city, but it is a change of status. The way they live the city though remains the same, and they assert their simplicity by always having been residents of the West Rand. They are usually amazed by the increasing urbanization of the area and they see it as a big improvement of the city and of the country. To them it is the manifestation of good political will to uplift the city to a World Class African City. Among this group of people there is a strong tension between being simple people because they have grown up in a simple area, but also of being part of some sort of transformation of the city and of the country.

Those who have affection for this area are not necessarily in competition with other areas of the city, yet they have a serious aversion to the “northern

suburbs”, and especially to some of the estates there. Dainfern²⁵ is one of those estates (I will talk about Dainfern in later paragraphs, especially in Chapter Four):

“Candida (the pilates teacher) is very funny. She tells everyone that I am doing a research on estate living and she is always very enthusiastic about the fact that I have decided to do it in Eagle Canyon. She thinks that I have chosen it because it is *such an interesting area*- her words. She is very fond of the West Rand and of the people here. She is very proud of the estate and very proud of her little apartment. She always asks me why I have chosen Eagle Canyon and she truly thinks that the new developments of the West Rand are a true experiment. Also, she’s very proud of the fact that I am going to bring the experience of the West Rand to Italy. *Maybe they will copy us*, she keeps saying.”

Fieldnote
August 2011

Then there are *those who are sceptical* of the area but happy with Eagle Canyon. Talking about the growth of Johannesburg, I have addressed the role of Roodepoort and how it is seen in the city. The *sceptical* are the ones who have moved to Eagle Canyon for practical reasons, because they needed a safe space and they wanted to escape from the city. They do not necessarily appreciate the area, even though they are happy with the estate. The next piece informs on this and introduces an important element, that of the relationship not only with suburbs, but with different estates as well.

“Together with Eagle Canyon, we looked at Dainfern and Featherbroke. We didn’t like Dainfern because of its position and its traffic, and we rejected it first of all because the guards have got visible guns and also because if we moved there I am really saying that I move in Krugersdorp. In Featherbrooke the attitude is different. You would be in Krugersdorp. Now I can still say that I am in Johannesburg. I am a bit snob. I never say that I am in Roodepoort. I was brought up in the Northern Suburbs, what would my family say?! I say Honeydew. I mean, even when we go in Clearwater, they look at her (referring to his wife, of Chinese origin) weirdly, imagine in Krugersdorp.”

Interview with Richard and Sue
Residents of Eagle Canyon
October 23rd, 2012

Dainfern recurs in many of the conversations, and it is never clear why people think that Dainfern is such a bad place to live in. Is it because they would

²⁵ Dainfern is arguably one of the oldest golf estates located in one of the richest areas of the city. It is also known for being one of the oldest and well established, well run and sophisticated.

love to and cannot afford it, or is it because they truly believe that it is a badly managed estate? Often, when talking about it what comes up is that the properties are smaller and that it might be located in a very fancy area of Johannesburg, but there the value of the properties is higher than in Eagle Canyon. Also, it is located close to a large service pipe and the golf course in hilly and it is thus impossible to play golf properly.

The comparison with their previous house is also quite recurrent. Suzanne talks about Northcliff, where she used to live and where properties are very big. She remembers the times she spent with her family in Worlds View, where she used to live in a big house and then she comments:

“Money that you spend maintaining a house in Northcliff is way too much, here we pay levy and is good. You can pay slightly more. I find that this Estate is run very well. I don’t feel scared anymore, but I am still careful. I mainly drive around and it is much different now that I start to know the area. Of course Emmerantia is better, is more established, the dam where I grew up and where I spent so much of my time playing. But this area is so new. When I was a child the tow road stopped by the highway. This is not a pretty area unlike Saxonworld, Parkview. People living there are all living because of security, also this area is only made up of estates and complexes. People have different values. My parents live in a house and they are blasé. This is fake, this is not South Africa. Outside the gate is reality. Here you don’t need to stress. You just have to look after your own house. This is not even a great area. They just saw a gap in the market.”

Interview with Suzanne
Residents of Eagle Canyon
November 25th 2012

In the course of the conversation Suzanne reinforces her point talking about a couple that moved to Eagle Canyon from one of the posh suburbs of Cape Town: “They used to live in very fancy house there”, she says: “and they are not impressed with the West Rand. Inside the estate is gorgeous but outside is not, however they would never want to leave the estate, they love it, the niceness of it compensate the badness of the area”

The frustration with the area is also expressed by this couple:

“We came from Northcliff, I was born in that area. We were used to big trees and big stands. We grew up and we could walk. We don’t want to be snobby, but it is nice not have people walking in the street and scratching in the dustbin. This is what we have here and we could not have in Northcliff anymore. That’s why we love it here. We pay for the lifestyle. You have to have high walls and electric fences there now. Here it is not allowed. But we love it here. It is the place to be. When we first moved here we would go back to Northcliff to shop, now we can do anything here, there are so many shopping centres! Also, in Northcliff we didn’t have friends. Here we do. The estate is the future. I am forced to live here, how else could I live in this country? We didn’t like the area before moving here, we

wanted to go to Dainfern, but there is a squatter camp nearby and it is not nice. We also have a golf course here and it is extremely good. We are also lucky to have that view from our house.”

Conversation with Richard and Sue
Residents of Eagle Canyon
12th May 2011

This piece of conversation speaks to the frustration of some of the residents who think that the area of the estate is not good. It is not in fact established and if put in competition with other estates it is not the best one. This limitation is usually countered by an ostentatious love for the sociability, management and security of Eagle Canyon. Another interesting factor is the reasons for the dislike of Dainfern, which are mostly attributed to the presence of a squatter camp nearby. Again, this is an important finding about the way in which residents understand the area in which they live.

No further than six kilometres outside the perimeter of the estate, along Beyers Naude, a massive informal settlement, Zandspruit, catches people's attention driving north on the right hand side of the road. Residents of Eagle Canyon are fully aware of it, as some of their domestic workers live in Zandspruit (this is also the case of the domestic working for John and Mary). Residents of the estate sometimes claim to drive their workers back home. The assumption is that they know about the squatter camp and a bit about it. The irony is that many of them do not see this squatter camp as a problematic site, as a space that undermines the quality of the estate.

Eagle Canyon is located in an aspiring City-Region and in what its habitants and administrators want to be recognized as a World Class City. In this regard the estate is what makes the city worthy of this title.

“You know, a friend of our daughter will come visit tomorrow from Australia, we have suggested that she takes the Gautrain up to Rosebank and then we will pick her up from there...the Gautrain is so good, and then she will come to Eagle Canyon, at least we can show her that we also have some good stuff in Jo'burg and that we really are a World Class City.”

Conversation with Rose
Resident of Eagle Canyon
May 12th, 2012

One last aspect is the assertion that the estate is the future. While this is somewhat evident in new areas of Johannesburg and of the country, it is important to say that for some of the residents living in an estate it is becoming a natural choice. The story of Julius is quite eloquent in this regard. He was born in Zambia, moved to Qatar for a while where he was living in a golf estate.

“I am not sure I will ever be able to live in a different setup. I like being in estates.”

One last group is that of *the departed, or aspiring to depart*, because of financial reasons or because of other factors. Eagle Canyon is not the most desirable world for everyone. For some of the residents, it is the convenience of the place that is most important and living in the West Rand of Johannesburg is not as appealing as it might seem, especially for those that come from wealthier and more established areas, such as from Northcliff.

Yau, who has always been staying in the area provides a different story as he would like to move out of the estate but is happy with the area:

“I moved into EC 5 years ago. Moved to South Africa from Ghana 18 years ago, but always gravitated around that area since then, the move to EC was natural but from here I want to move somewhere close to Greenside, close to my business. Here I do not enjoy the atmosphere like enjoy falling asleep watching soccer with a glass of whisky and the door open... but I prefer for my son to be streetwise and this is not something you get here, I want my son to be free. Also he will have to live outside and it doesn't help me for him not to be used to the outside world.”

Interview with Yau
Resident of Eagle Canyon
11th November 2011

Finally, there is the group who have *departed*, those who have decided to move out. While reasons for moving out are varied, one of the most recurrent ones is financial problems.

“Today Josephine, the woman I live with, told me that she needs to sell the house. She is unemployed and she does not know how to deal with it any longer. She's no longer able to pay the levies and she is being penalized for this. Everyone knows that she is unemployed and she is scared that they will make fun of her. She hasn't had a job for a while now and she keeps saying that this country is not white people anymore. She is very disappointed as she “*like(s) the Canyon to bits*” and it represents the fact that she has made it. She said that, moving from East London, she came to Johannesburg to make it and this is what she told her daughters and son. And she was really proud of herself for making it. Now her mission has failed in a very unexpected way, so might have to tell them that she renting the house out.”

Conversation with Josephine
Departing resident from Eagle Canyon
25th August 2011

The interesting part about Josephine's story is that when looking for another place to stay two conditions needed to be satisfied: the first one was finding a house or a flat in a complex (it would have been a downwards mobility step for her, but inevitable), which in a way represents the idea of living in a reduced environment on a smaller and more modest scale, and the other part was the idea of not moving too far away from there, because, ever since she moved to Johannesburg, this area has been her *spot*.

This is just one of many of the examples of departure because of financial problems. A handful of stories about it have come up, and especially in the occurrence of a divorce and family split, some of the families moved out.

Another reason for departure is relocating overseas. The aspect of relocation and migration, linked to the attachment to the nation, will be treated in Chapter 5. For here it is enough to point out that a few cases of relocation have been reported in the Eagle Canyon Newsletter.

3.2. Moving around: giving meaning to distances and movements in the city.

Movement, with all its complexity, including its denial, cannot be denied as an important factor: "movement, potential movement and blocked movement, as well as voluntary/temporary immobilities, practices of dwelling and "nomadic" place-making are all conceptualized as constitutive of economic, social and political relations" (Buscher and Urry 2009, 100). Augé (2009) recognizes the value of mobility in the understanding of the contemporary world as the key point to fully comprehending the contemporary urban forms. He talks about "dialogue in movement" both between the centres and the peripheries and between the north and the south, linking them not just in terms of economic and cultural dualism, but in terms of mutually defined imaginary. In this frame, the center takes its meaning in relation to its periphery and vice versa, as does the link between the mutual and the interconnected traffic of the city. At issue is the way in which human activity is changed and how it is decentered by movement and practices of mobility and what Castells has referred to as the dualism of space of staying (where people reside) and space of flowing (where people pass through). The point of connection between these two types of space and the study of mobility, is the array of mobilities individuated by Buscher and Urry (2009). In particular the corporeal travel of people to work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape, organized in terms of contrasting time-space modalities (from daily commuting to once-in-a-lifetime exile) and the imaginative travel effected through talk, but also the images of places and peoples appearing on, and moving across, multiple print and visual media. The new dispensation and the dismissal of the Group Areas Act in South Africa has enabled the possibility of movement for all the racial groups. As a consequence the city has changed its geography and the stark racial character of the city has changed and with this a racial reshuffling has taken place. In the next section I will show how patterns of mobility are informed by the idea of where is the "best place to live". I will start with the patterns of mobility inside the estate and in Northcliff, I will then move on the city and the suburbs to finally address the idea of movement nationally and outside the nation.

3.2.1. Mobility inside the estate: what are the patterns?

“Tonight at the clubhouse I have met Josephine, a lady who owns a flat on the estate. She is currently renting it out, but she will move in on the 15th of April. She is looking for someone to rent a room to, I have talked to her and the deal is made. But she warned me, we are staying in a complex, not in a free standing house.”

Fieldnote
March 25th, 2011

Internal mobility is not only the issue at Eagle Canyon. Managers from other estates (Peacanwood and Cedar Lakes) confirm that internal mobility is a phenomenon that affects various estates. In Eagle Canyon, where there is quite a big social stratification which is linked to the fact that there are very expensive free standing houses and more affordable townhouse complexes, mobility is twofold. Families that have started off in sectional title complexes and have been able to make more money decide to move to free standing houses, while families whose numbers has become smaller downsize to some of the complexes.

Internal social discrimination is on-going between the residents of the complexes and residents of the estate. Discrimination is on the basis of the quality of life that people living in small apartments might have and it is also linked to the effects that those complexes have in the overall management of the estate (see last chapter for a better understanding of this relationship).

“I am a bit tired of introducing myself, anytime I have to repeat the same mantra about what I do and where I come from. But the very interesting part comes when I tell where I live in Eagle Canyon. I live in one of the complexes, La Bellucia and I share the flat with someone. The immediate reaction of people is: oh shame, you have to share, sorry, well, don’t worry I was also staying in the complexes (inside Eagle Canyon), but then I managed to move, you’ll get there.”

Fieldnote
June 20th, 2011

Those that live in Sectional Titles are bound by what Chipkin has called “communal capitalism” (2012). They share the government of their house, they share most of the spaces and they are somehow bound to each other. The houses are smaller than the free standing ones and for this reason their social value decreases. The landscape from the complexes is endangered by the apartments close to each other and there is a general feeling of being “packed and cluttered”. The interview with Sian illustrates part of this point, stressing the feeling of inferiority induced by the owners of free standing houses:

“We are not as upmarket as the others living in free standing houses, yet we do benefit as them of the nice environment, we can use the golf course and the clubhouse, we are good. They think we have less than them and that we are not worth them. Those people have money, we have a bit less, but we can buy more apartments, they always look down on us living in the complexes, they think we are not up to their standards, but we, as them, contribute to the enhance the management and the finances of the estate.”

Interview with Sian
July 12th, 2012

The difference within the estate is marked by aspects of the dimensions of the houses and their position in the estate and display of wealth of the residents.

3.2.2. *City and suburbs*

The relationship between the city center and the suburbs is a contested one. Barbagli and Pisati (2013) elaborate that the connection to the city center differs from the Francophone to the Anglophone tradition. In cities such as Paris the city center has always been connected to and appreciated by the bourgeoisie, while in cities such as London the pattern was different due to the anti-urban movement and the sprawling effect of the suburb. Obviously the relationship between the suburb and the city is diversified also within the Anglophone tradition. Bourne (1996) points out that in the United States suburbs dominate the metropolitan landscape and that talking of the dichotomy urban-suburbs is not very accurate due to the process of the urbanization of suburbs and of the dislocation of the urban centres. Johannesburg patterns of connection between the city center and the suburbs are very similar to that of London, affected by the ideal of the Garden City. South African patterns are also determined by the ideology of territorial segregation.

“...the theorists of territorial segregation employed a more conventional mode of social particularization. This was based upon what William Empson has termed the ‘pastoral process’, whereby complex ideas are made simple by a ruling class seeking to reinforce a social order by bolstering up more traditional stereotypes” (Rich 1984, p.5).

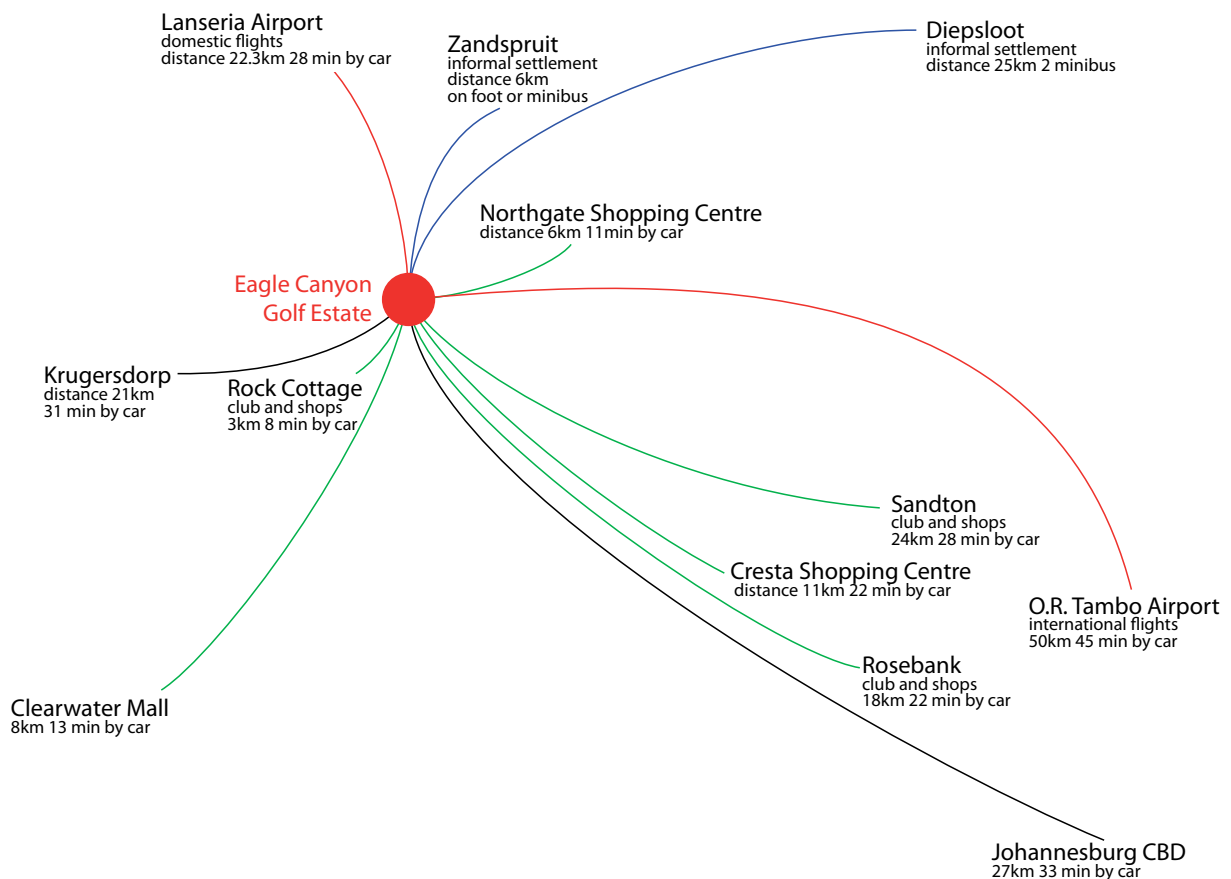
From a spatial perspective the traditional stereotypes are those linked to the “right” position for different groups of residents (in this case racially defined) within the areas of the city. Bell explains that

“The individual black man in white areas is as much of a ‘fish out of the water’ as the white man would be in black territories. The native should have no

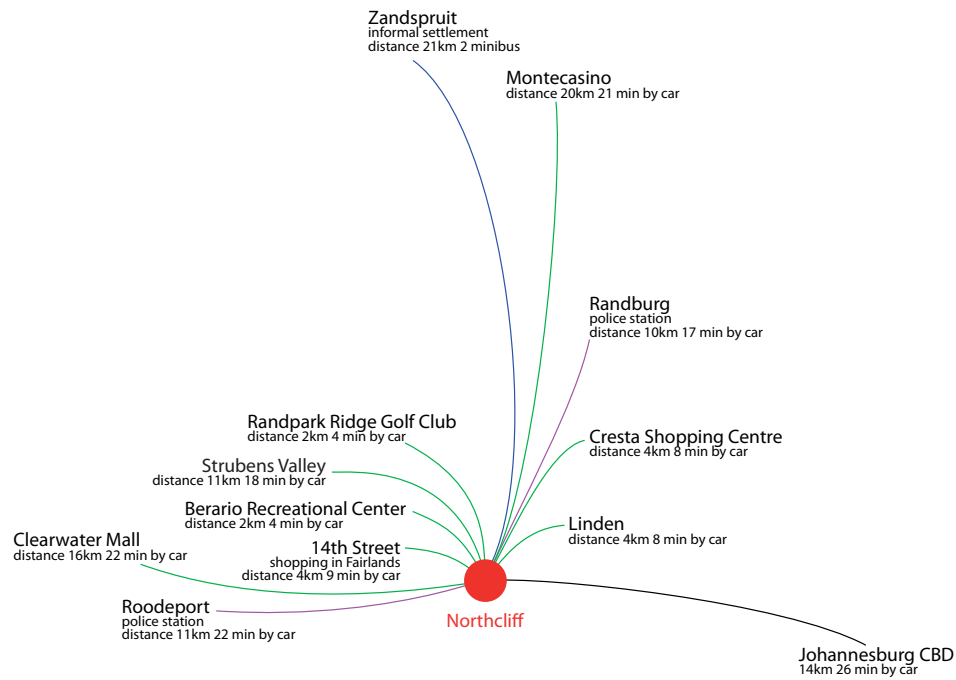
locus standi in white territories and the inconvenience in this position would act, automatically, as a stimulus to separation...In opposition black and white are each antagonists, industrially, socially and politically. But separate and apart each may follow his own line of progress without detriment to the other” .(Bell cited in Rich, 1984, p.6-no reference provided)

In the post-apartheid regime such spatial differentiations are not enforced, yet the way residents navigate the city and the suburbs is sometimes dictated by the racial features of the areas. The following maps show how residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon know and travel through the city and the suburbs.

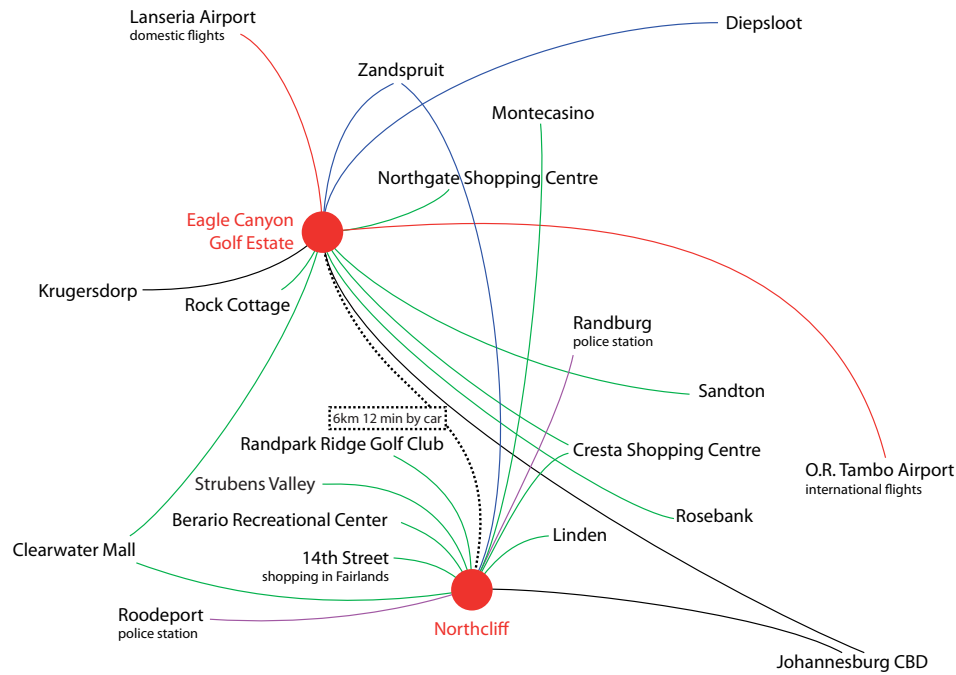
Map 7. *Movements from Eagle Canyon*



Map 8. *Movements from Northcliff*



Map 9. *Movements from Eagle Canyon and Northcliff. A comparison.*



The maps show a clear and interesting pattern about the mobility of residents in the city. Johannesburg city centre, far from Eagle Canyon, but not so far from Northcliff, is not considered a viable option for going out and for going shopping. It is just one of those areas that are part of the memory of the city, but are not part of it any longer. Central suburbs such as Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville are remembered for their vibrancy and their progressiveness “back in the days” but are now not readable, to use one of Lynch’s expressions. Central suburbs are not intelligible and are considered a “no go area”. The lack of readability of these central suburbs is due to their racial and socio demographic change and the increased crime rates. The memory of its vibrancy is linked to the fact that individuals associated themselves with the life of the CBD, while at the moment what “goes on there is just impossible to know, as there are people coming from the continent, rural areas and so forth” (Interview with Jack, 12 April 2012). As the maps show, the pattern of movement of the residents of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff are very similar, both for shopping and leisure purposes. None of the residents travel to the city centre or to areas far apart. In this way they create a different geography of mind, to use Brunns’s expression, they create their own gated space.

Figure 12. *Travelling from the suburbs towards the city centre*



Figure 13. *A view of the city centre from the outer suburbs*



The relationship between the city center and the outer suburbs is however complicated by the changing space of some of the inner suburbs. Walsh (2013) writes about the regeneration process of Johannesburg of some parts of the inner city. Referring to the new district of Arts on Main located in the middle of the end of town and bordering Hillbrow and to the new market of Braamfontein, the author speaks of what is understood by a white middle-upper class as the right to re-occupy the city. The creation of a safe, nice and lively environment in those spaces are considered a no-go area in the aftermath of apartheid is regarded as

Without questioning mechanisms of eviction, violence and perpetuated inequality, both residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon appreciate what they call the “efforts” to create such spaces: “it is very nice now, we haven’t been in town in a very long time and we were surprised to see such nice developments. Last Saturday we went to the neighborhoods market. It is safe, clean and very nice. The food that they sell is great. It is also nice to go with kids, they have security guards and it is extremely good” says Dominique, resident of Northcliff. The travel to the inner suburb of Braamfontein, recently undergoing regeneration is for the family an outing, a pleasant trip that they would not do under other circumstances. The dark side of the place is not only hidden, but also purposely erased by those that travel from the suburb to the new space, as to prove their enthusiasm to be able to go back to the inner city.

The relationship with the city centre is definitely controversial and articulated. A resident of Eagle Canyon, while talking at the Clubhouse over a glass of wine and overlooking the golf course, tells me that she always goes to do her hair in Yeoville, where there is a very good hairdresser who has been in the fashion industry for a long time and has also been to California. Here, the white wealthy woman, resident of one of the biggest free standing houses of Eagle Canyon, decides to drive for 25 km to do her hair in Yeoville. Together with Hillbrow, Yeoville is one of the most romanticized inner city suburb of Johannesburg. As residents say: “back in the days” (referring to the eighties of the apartheid time), these were multiracial, vibrant spaces where it was possible to go out, dance and enjoy nice food. Yet, from the nineties, with the end of apartheid and the advent of new patterns of migration from other African countries, the demographic of the city centre has changed, becoming what residents of the two areas refer to “an African place”, unsafe and not welcoming.

Navigating the city is not obviously about going to town: as it has been shown, only in few occasions the residents travel in that direction. Both from Eagle Canyon and from Northcliff, the perception of town is the same, the memory is the same and the reasons for going there are the same.

Interestingly, the two spaces also share other patterns of movement. Shopping is done close to the residential areas and often the both from Eagle Canyon and from Northcliff residents opt for Cresta shopping centre, Clearwater Bay or convenient store close by. Cresta shopping centre is the first mall built around the suburb of Northcliff in the sixties, well before Eagle Canyon was built and the expansion towards North started. It is regarded as a complete, fashionable but down to earth space where to go shopping, drinking a coffee or meeting friends.

Movements within the city, and more specifically the suburbs, are certainly very limited. Given the comfort created by little shops and shopping malls

around Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, often the radius of the movement within the city is limited. It is however important to note a gender distinction. Men travelling to work usually navigate the city more extensively, while women, non working, usually declare not to drive far from the estate: “come with me for coffee, we go to the nursery nearby” is one of the most recurrent invitations that I get from both women of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff. The nursery, a place where it is possible to buy plants and seeds, and where freshly brewed coffee and a nice breakfast is served, gathers the attraction of many of the middle-upper class women who enjoy the quiet and natural atmosphere of the nursery.

The choice of living in Eagle Canyon does not represent a deliberate will to reinvent Roodepoort or to reinvent the city. In fact, residents have no attachment to this area, even though many of them have always lived in the surrounding areas. There is a complete lack of interest in Johannesburg as a city; in fact, the skyline of the central business district (CBD) that can be seen when driving towards Johannesburg means little to these residents. Johannesburg CBD is sometimes part of a memory of a very distant time, but almost forgotten. What persists in the minds of the residents is more the idea of the city and of living in that city than a spatial knowledge and use of it. Interestingly, there is no strong identification with Roodepoort either, even though some of the residents are not new to the area. Living in the estate means living in a different space altogether. Thus, there is no sense of living out of Johannesburg; just a sense of being in a different area – the West Rand – mainly dictated by the stigma associated with the place (it is not as fancy and luxurious as the northern suburbs of the city) and, at the same time, the enthusiasm of living in a new developing urban suburb. And the estate invests a lot of effort and money in order to counteract the reputation of living in a “simple area” (the West Rand), mainly by stressing the uniqueness of the estate. Some residents claim to reside in the best estate in Johannesburg, because it is new, active, close to where they work and it feels like being on holiday, especially when sipping a drink at the clubhouse after a long day at the office. Linked to this is a very dialectical relationship with the suburb: the estate both rejects and tries to recreate it. As a matter of fact, this suburban area is highly urbanised; and the estate aims to reproduce a village style of living, evoking the non-gated traditional suburbs of the city.

As far as residents of Northcliff are concerned, they feel that they are part of a special suburb and that their relationship to Johannesburg is very strong and close.

Now that we have moved out of Eagle Canyon we feel that our life is way easier. We don't have to deal with the HOA and all is on us. True, we miss the lifestyle, but here we have our own facilities and we enjoy the suburb. We have our own space and this is the most important thing. It is funny that our kids now miss Eagle Canyon so much, we don't know why, so sometimes we take them close by, to Clearwater Shopping Mall. This is so ironic, when we were in Eagle Canyon we would go to Cresta Mall for a change but we would always shop at Clearwater, now we do the contrary!

Conversation with the Smith Family
resident of Northcliff
May 17th, 2013

The Smith family exemplifies how the city and the suburbs are lived by the two groups of residents. They show how in the end both Eagle Canyon and Northcliff residents share the same patterns of movement in the city, which sometimes even overlap. Distance from the city center though marks the difference in perception between the residents of the two areas. Eagle Canyon is distant from the city center and both spatially and socially it sees itself as part of a different city, while Northcliff residents feel only socially distant from it, as their geographical position is closer to it.

3.2.3 *The township*

“Today I visited Candida, the pilates teacher in Eagle Canyon. Someone at the clubhouse gave me her contact details. I figured that attending pilates classes on the estate is one of the best ways to get in touch with some of the women living there. That was an extremely weird encounter. She lives in one of the complexes of the estate, Lakeside Village, it is supposed to be one of the most upmarket complex, with apartments and houses of different sizes. She gave me great directions on how to get there from the main gate and this was the first time I really drove around the estate. Her text message is very articulated and she takes as reference point the building of the Homeowners Association. Despite her precise direction I managed to get lost and had to ask for information with some people playing in a little park of the estate. Once I got to the house I am immediately struck by the grey color of the complex and by the regular shape of the houses. Candida is waiting for me, she smiles and she opens the door to her house. Minimal furniture, brown in color and flowers all over welcome me. She introduces herself and she apologizes for the other day when I called. She says that she was in a taxi taking a tour of Soweto. You know, we have travelled extensively all around the world, but that was the first time we went to Soweto, and we were surprised to see such a nice area. We thought everywhere would be poor and dusty. “We brought even a change with us in case it was moldy, but we didn’t need it...you know foreigners know some parts of our country better than we do, it is not our fault really, given our history we have never had the chance to visit black areas and townships”. I didn’t quite know how to react, so I kept nodding and smiling.”

Field note
March 15th, 2011

Julie shows enthusiasm for living in Eagle Canyon, she knows perfectly the estate and some of the surrounding areas, but sees as exotic many of the black areas of the city. She shows a bit of embarrassment for travelling extensively overseas, but not knowing enough of the country, however she feels that overall she does not have responsibilities for the creation of segregated space, and most importantly she does not see the space in which she lives as a space that contributes to the creation of a space of difference. It is thus fine to visit the area as tourists. Indeed she believes that visiting the area as a tourist is a first step towards the understanding of these unknown spaces. In many conversations Julia stresses how important it is for her to know what happens in the country, not to be isolated.

A resident of Northcliff presents a similar case talking of her husband. Intending to claim that despite living in a posh, wealthy and white area it is possible to be “open minded” people, she recounts that her husband visits Soweto regularly with his colleagues for drinks after work. However this narration has showed a strong gendered dynamic of her as a woman, claiming not to be able to go to Soweto alone, even to visit the “nicer and wealthier” areas. The process of transformation of the township thanks to the RDP program

and to the fact that some of the areas have improved infrastructure becomes, especially for white people, another way of redemption as they can claim that in the end townships are not that bad and that nowadays even white people can go freely, even though they are refrained from doing it.

While most of the white residents of the two areas do not have knowledge of what really happens in townships and they talk about the times that they have visited with pride, or they describe it through the words of domestic workers, the experience of the township of a black resident of Eagle Canyon assumes a different tone:

“I met Sophie, my neighbor from Limpopo, she went to Soweto to do her hair and then she stopped by her sister for a meal. I asked if she has got family in Soweto and she goes ‘Of course, we do have family in the townships. We come from a rural area but some of brothers and sisters are around and I like going to see them once in a while, to get my hair and nails done and so on. My husband goes there on a drill on Friday with his mates or colleagues, even some white people go, Soweto is nice nowadays’.

Conversation with Sophie
October 6th, 2011

Sophie was born in a rural area and moved to the West Rand. She thinks that she could not live anywhere else apart from Eagle Canyon but she keeps up with her family friends and ties in Soweto, where some other family members have moved. Her experience is much more entrenched with the daily life of the township. She would never want to move there as it would be a downgrade of her life but at the same time she does not want to lose touch with that part of her background.

Not having visited a township is a regular experience for many of the residents of the two suburbs, and it is taken as something that should not be challenged. In fact, not many residents show interest in this kind of space, which is part of the city, but is seen as a space apart. However it is also important to note that the residents find it important to have something to say about it:

“Today I have invited a friend over, he is a black guy and I have not told her this. At first she was very open and happy to have a visitor. We were sitting by the kitchen counter when he arrived, the door was open and he entered in a confident fashion. I do the introductions, we sit for a while talking with a glass of wine...at some point of the conversation Josephine wants to show to my friend that she knows the “black world”. My friend goes along with the conversation, and at some point he points out that it would be nice to have an intercultural exchange: people living in Eagle Canyon should spend some time in a township and vice versa. Josephine immediately replies saying that indeed she previously slept in Soweto for a night and that she had great fun. However she does not seem to be equally enthusiastic about hosting someone from Soweto at her flat in Eagle Canyon. In fact as soon as she hears the suggestion she looks at me and smiles as to find support from my side and she declares: “ well, I am not sure this would be a nice

arrangement, especially for those who live in a township....despite me trying to go deeper into the conversation, Josephine decides to cut it off.....when my friend leaves she proudly says: “ you can really tell he is an educated guy and comfortable with white people and that he doesn’t live in a township”.

Fieldnote 20th May 2011

Josephine, as many other residents of the two areas, has a very limited experience of the township and of its life. Her main source of knowledge about it is linked to the rhetoric of crime and danger and to a romanticized idea of family and neighborhood life. While she has not been keen to describe her experience in Soweto, she also tries to show that her knowledge is entirely limited to common sense, but also to a personal experience. Yet, her reaction to the proposal of an intercultural exchange exemplifies the attitude towards the importance of protecting her property.

Movement to the township is somewhat imagined for most of the population of both the estate and the suburbs. Knowledge about it is informed by stories and news but little interest is shown towards a deeper understanding of the space. Often showing interest is instrumental to showing a certain degree of openness and knowledge about the different parts of the country.

3.2.4. The informal settlement

Closeness to an informal settlement is what seems to hinder and worry residents of estates. A symposium hosted by the Public Affairs Research Institute at Wits University in April 2012 addressed the question of informal settlements as an unexpected post-apartheid geography. Not far from Eagle Canyon an informal settlement, Zandspruit, houses more than 6000 residents, some of them working in Eagle Canyon:

“... Our maid comes from Zandspruit, if you want we can take you there anytime. We know the different parts of the city, South Africa is such a diverse country and we are aware of the gap between the rich and the poor. If you want we can take you to Zandspruit, we go sometimes to take our maid”

Conversation with Sabrina
Resident of Eagle Canyon
May 12th, 2011

Josephine, the lady I live with, took me on a car ride to Haartbepoort Dam, she said it was the best place to go to on a public holiday. It is just relaxing and comforting. Miriam, the domestic worker was working in the morning and she asked for a lift to Zandspruit. The three of us left Eagle Canyon by car and we dropped Miriam in the informal settlement, only six kilometres away from the estate and on our way to the dam. As soon as we get closer Josephine starts

talking about the xenophobic attacks that took place in 2008 and how she helped Josephine providing food, a shelter and much more. She stressed the bad condition of the informal settlement and she also emphasized her active role in improving her “maid’s lifestyle”.

Informal settlements are new artefacts of the South African landscape and they are somehow the product of the new dispensation. These spaces are much more visible than the townships as they are at the outskirts of the cities and extremely close to new settlements such as those of estates and complexes. The connection between spaces of wealth and informal settlements is not a straightforward one. In fact the estates represent a possibility of work for the residents of the informal settlements while residents of estates only rarely access the informal settlement and they only do so, as in the case of Josephine, in connection with the world of their workers.

Talk of the informal settlement and knowledge about it is usually associated to the maid. The informal settlement of Zandspruit doesn’t feature in any dialogue if not in terms of poverty. On a usual weekday morning exiting the estate the resident sees people looking for jobs. This is how the informal settlement introduces itself to the residents of the estate. Most of the residents ignore the unemployed residents of Zandspruit outside of the estate. The primary connection that the residents have with the informal settlement is linked to employment and the work relationship. As for the township, many residents of the estate talk of this space in an imagined way. Often it is mentioned in relation to the domestic worker. Declarations like: “We know the informal settlements: and we drive our maid there” are very common. Yet, it is important to note that the knowledge of the informal settlement ends from a physical point of view at its entrance: “we drive our maid there, but we cannot go into the informal settlement, it is too dangerous, so we leave them outside” (this is another common sentence) and from a more substantial point of view it is limited to the action of employment of a domestic worker or a gardener.

“Today I have met Toivo at the Clubhouse. She is sitting at the table with her two kids and with Julia, her domestic helper. When I meet them they are having dinner and they are talking about the informal economy of the informal settlement of Zandspruit, where Julia’s family is. Toivo seems to be very interested to the stories and she would like to learn more about. She listens carefully and she often looks at me saying: “you see, I am learning a lot, they really have their economy in Zandspruit and Julia is part of it as her kids are there”.

Fieldnote 3rd March 2011

Toivo is a black woman who was born in Yeoville and who has never lived in a township. Coming from a middle class family she has never experienced poverty and she has always been exposed to what she has defined a good lifestyle. Now, living in Eagle Canyon, she looms in together the informal settlement, the non-regenerated city centre and the township. Being black, she feels close to the lives of residents, however she shows surprise when talking about the informal economy of Zandspruit, of which she does not even ask for details.

Interestingly, the knowledge and the attitude towards the informal settlement does not change much from that of the township.

Being close to Eagle Canyon the informal settlement of Zandspruit is also nominated when talking about danger and crime and sometimes also to refer to the a danger to the security of the estate,

3.2.5. National movements and beyond

Phil Bonner, talking about the connection between social change and landscape, points out that in South Africa “these (new settlements: complexes and estates) deserve at least some of the same attention, both because of their extent, but also because – in my view – and this is more contentious – the less visible bottom-up processes of restructuring South African society [which I mentioned earlier], have the greatest purchase and can be most easily discerned” (2013, p. 160). He points out that changes in the rural area are extremely linked to those of the urban one. Bonner’s intuition is evident in the relationship that both residents of the two areas have with their rural spaces. A less documented phenomenon is the diffusion of estates, (equestrian, eco, aerial) in the rural provinces of the country. The connection between residents of Johannesburg and these estates is quite strong. Map 4 shows that Lanseria Airport, very close to Eagle Canyon, is a relevant reference site for the residents. Many of them fly to other parts of the country for business reasons, while others fly to their second houses in another parts of the country. A member of the Smith family describes that: “some friends of ours live in an estate by George, the husband travels every week to Jo’burg for business and when he gets to the airport in George, he doesn’t even shows his ID, they know him at the airport”.

The constant movement between estates and airports has somehow also created a different way of looking at movement within the country. The possibility of owning properties in different estates has likewise altered the idea that people have of Johannesburg. Moving away from this city with a high crime rate and where the only way of living is in a secure estate is the aspiration of many families that can afford to be at different places at once. Johannesburg is reasserted as the economic hub from which it is imperative to move away, if possible. Looking at movement within the country in this way shows how the estate is in a constant dialogue with the rest of the country because of business needs thus residents do not feel isolated but on the contrary they feel linked to and part of the nation thanks to their extensive travel. It also shows that the estate life and the appeal of its landscape is experienced differently according to its locality, enhancing the desire for estate living.

Not only those that live in estates long for new properties in other similar estates. A resident of Northcliff explains that she does not like estates in Johannesburg but that her family has bought a house in a golf estate in Kwa-Zulu Natal where they go every two weeks. Interestingly living in Northcliff, the estates of Johannesburg are regarded as snobbish and non-desirable, differently from estates in other parts of the country. The next chapters will address the relationship between Northcliff and the estate and will elucidate the symbolic importance of refusing to live in an estate in Johannesburg.

Movement within the country, between the various estates is extremely marked and is somehow creating a new way of looking at rural and urban spaces for the residents of the two areas. These are mostly linked to the idea of moving to a better and more functional place and they resonate with search for a “world class city”. Movements within the country are narrated as spectacular, especially when talking about the cleanliness of Cape Town and the fashionable style of estates such as those of Umhlanga in Kwa Zulu Natal. Movement within estates is very popular not only in South Africa. While in this country has become very easy to move from one estate to another, especially if they are close to the airports (in small airports regular users are not even asked to produce an ID documents), many residents of the two areas enjoy holidays abroad, especially in Europe, where they expect to find the “first world class city”, which they experience mostly inside the estates in South Africa, and which sometimes they don’t find, to their utmost disappointment: “we were in Spain, in a nice restaurant and we saw beggars. We thought it was awful, we asked the manager to chase them away. We went to Europe to see something different, not what we can see in Africa”, says Lyn, resident of Eagle Canyon, while describing her holiday and her disappointment with her holiday in Spain.

3.3. Illustrating mechanisms of bordering in the city. Open and walled landscapes.

What can be registered as conclusion to this Chapter is that residents of both areas share the same physical vision of the city, they do share the same paths and movement: this suggests that segregation and splintering is not necessarily put forward by the gates of the estate, and that we ought to look at other underlying dynamics. Landman and Badenhorst (2012), discussing the spatial impact of gated communities and their diversity, suggest that estates do not have a strong impact on the use of the space. Landman’s perspective is a top down one, and it solely relies on the geographical space and does not account for the place that is created and how it shapes different perceptions. Or, finally how it shapes the readability of the city. Looking at patterns of movement their argument seems to be convincing.

Accepting that Estates produce a limitation of the public space, that they block the site and limit it to a series of bricks or walls and electric fences, what could be argued is that the Estate as such does not particularly affect the movement of the residents. I have shown that residents of the two areas, especially women, feel comfortable travelling at a short distance from home, be it the Estate or the suburb. The idea of the CBD is pretty much the same, as it is not readable and intelligible. A notion of ordered space seems to take place, an anti-urban feeling associated to the chaos and massive presence of pedestrian is what makes the space uncomfortable. This perception holds for the two spaces and it is not negotiable. As a matter of fact, even if the outlook of the two

suburbs is slightly different, the idea upon which the Estate is built is exactly that of the suburb.

But I have started the chapter by analysing the feeling of attachment to the two suburbs and following the distinction that Elias has made between the established and the outsiders, it is safe to say that feeling for the place and thinking to be in the good space is linked to a phenomenon of invisible boundaries.

4.

Chapter Four

On the worth of the groups: contending where the good community stands.

“We moved out and we thought we would not find a community, but we are really happy here, our church is close by, we do see people walking around, we might not be involved in the community, but we are happy here. There was too much going on in Eagle Canyon and we didn’t feel free. Now we are free. We invite people over, we have fairly good relationships without neighbours....yes we do miss Eagle Canyon from time to time, but it is better here.”

Conversation with Smith Family

I concluded Chapter Three by noting that spatially the wall and the perimeter of the golf estate does not foster or deepen segregation, instead in order to see what kind of space is created we ought to look at what the space means to its residents. The position of the estate on the outskirts of the city has created a new way of looking at the city of Johannesburg from the West Rand, which, linked to its outlook and its internal landscape, has accentuated the difference from other suburbs and estates. The residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon share the same movements in the city, yet they think of themselves as living the city differently. So far the two areas have brought us on a tour of the city of Johannesburg and they have shown that the imagined and the lived city are pretty similar in the two places. For those living in the golf estate it is about a safe space, which is not perceived as such by the residents of the suburb. Spatially the two groups have the same perception of the city, they travel more or less the same distances, but they have a different perception of each other. Looking at space, we see that the landscape plays a big role in the idea of what is a good place. The well maintained garden of Eagle Canyon is usually mentioned by its residents as testimony to the beauty of the estate, while residents of the suburb see the landscape rules, imposed by the management of the estate, as a limitation to creativity and personalization of the houses.

After having described the place, and following the De Certeau model, we now move onto the space, to the ways in which residents use the suburbs, live them, respect and contest them. The concept of community from both a top down and a bottom up perspective (how is the concept of community used by institutions to create a communitarian feeling and what is the reaction of the residents) will be the object of this chapter. The “community question” is of utmost relevance as it is mentioned by many stakeholders at many different moments. On the estate the Homeowners Association talks about building a community and the residents feel like a community, even though they do not share the same idea of what a community is. On a general basis the semi-residential character of Eagle Canyon induces an ideal of community inside the estate that is not extended to the outside: despite there being a dispute among the residents as to why they have moved in, there is a feeling that “we try to do as much as we can here, we are not moving anywhere”, but this is a very pragmatic

and utilitarian way of looking at communal living linked to the wish of enjoying a communitarian lifestyle maintaining privacy and individuality.

In the suburb the notion of the community is considered in a different way. As with the estate, institutions such as the CPF (Community Policing Forum) or that of the residents associations which give a sense of community and try to promote it, on the other hand residents feel that the community experience is the result of a long historical tradition of involvement in the suburb in its entirety. Space and institutions shape community in different ways. While to Eagle Canyon residents the community is about the space inside the estate, in Northcliff it is about going to the same shops and coffee places and being established there. Yet they both share the idea of experiencing a village type of life. Both residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon share a history of alienation, homogeneity and segregation and at present they grapple with fitting into the South African society. According to them, they have chosen to live, experience and create different kinds of communities and see themselves as antagonists.

In this chapter I challenge the romantic idea of community and the idea that residents of gated developments long for community, even though they rely on communitarian rhetoric to identify themselves. I therefore argue that “building community in the estate” (both from the side of institutions and residents) is aimed at providing a set of strategies to justify the choice of living there. Thanks to the comparison with the suburb I am able to show how these strategies are the result of continuous mutual relationships between the two areas. The chapter argues that values and ideas of who is “worthy” is what characterizes the two groups and the idea of community that they have. The community of Eagle Canyon is not just the continuum of the community of Northcliff, but it presents itself as an innovation in which the old and the new are integrated into a modern mix.

Community is not only about the harmony of sharing experiences and creating networks. However the lives of the residents are permeated by the ideal of the communitarian life, which is at times orchestrated by institutions. Through an analysis of the ways in which the two groups measure their “worth” as community, I delineate some of the common traits of South African contemporary society. The chapter shows how the different perception of the worth and of the ideal of community is symptomatic of the ways in which the two groups look for a suitable space in the country. Scant attention has been given in the literature on gated communities devoted to the community question in not addressing the lack of community versus an increasing individualism and neoliberal market. While this trend seems to be correct not only when addressing gated communities, the question to be answered is: on what values and morals does the community create itself as such and how does it relate to other communities? Lamont (1992) suggests that the “worth” of individuals is to be found in morals and values. Likewise the two groups have interpreted their “worth” on the basis of characteristics relevant to the South African society. The antagonism and the terms of difference between the two spheres are determined both by symbolic boundaries and by the structural differences of the two sites.

The notion of community has a long history in the South African context and the spread of gated estates has revitalized the debate on it. Nowadays it is raised by politicians, activists, residents and institutions as the saviour from the

wrongs of society. In order to understand how predominantly white groups assess the good and the worth of society, I have developed a series of elements and dichotomies used as strategies by the residents, strongly linked to the South African context and which have emerged in the research (see Table 2). Most of the antagonism arises from the notions of the real and the fake, the new and the old, the homogeneous and the heterogeneous, the leisure and the commitment and finally the idea of being “just a normal family”. This chapter is going to tackle these aspects linking them to broader societal matters. In the first paragraph I address the importance attributed to living in the real world as opposed to the fake one. If by default the general feeling of living in a gated community is that it equates to living in a bubble with the intention of blocking out the main problems of society, while living in the suburb means getting to grips with the real world, in this section I show that the terms of the real and the fake have to do with the ways in which people live. Both areas employ strategies to prove their ways of living in the real world, which is often manifested in an ostentatious knowledge about the poor. Attached to this dichotomy is that of newness and oldness. The “new country” is at the basis of many debates in South Africa, and its meaning and value is highly controversial especially to those that have decided to live in the “old country” – the suburb – and those that have opted to endorse the rhetoric of the new dispensation – the gated suburb. Paying attention to frictions and problems both among the two areas and within the areas, in this section I outline how versions of the old and the new co-exist in both areas and I argue that in the estate the idea of reproducing a new and modern version of the old makes the “community” feel better than the other. Linked to the old and new is the question of homogeneity and heterogeneity. The country having been divided and racially segregated for such a long time, there is an urgency to show that the country is mixed, that there are no racial problems. This aspect is particularly relevant to the white population living in Eagle Canyon, which tries to prove to be non-racial. Eagle Canyon sees itself as community of leisure and commitment and sees the outside as lacking in communitarian feelings while Northcliff denigrates the idea of community as “leisure” that is created in Eagle Canyon and feels more part of a community of commitment. Finally, the last strategy to define the “worth” is the idea of being just a normal family, living in a normal community where residents want to enjoy privacy and a simple life. The chapter argues that in contemporary South Africa the estate provides a space within which it is possible to forge identities. The space of the estate is a space in which a moral order takes place and understanding the “worth” of the community, linked to phenomena and considerations about the broader society, is conducive to the understanding of the instantiation of a political community that finds its space in the country.

Table 4 is a synthesis of the aspects that are going to be analysed through the chapter.

Table 4. *The terms of the worth, being better and how it comes to be justified*

	Northcliff	Eagle Canyon	Northcliff towards Eagle Canyon	Eagle Canyon towards Northcliff
Real vs. Fake	Real	Real	Fake	Fake
New vs. Old	Old	New and Old	New	Old
Homogeneous vs. Heterogeneous	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	---	---
Leisure vs. Commitment	Commitment ²⁶	Leisure and Commitment	Leisure	---
Status	Average	Average	High	High

4.1. *A fake or a real community: a numbing experience or a real one?*

Renata lives in Northcliff. I meet her at the Berario Recreation Centre where she attends pottery classes. She is very open and willing to talk about her life:

“It’s my connection with poor people that’s changed that puts me in a different mind-set. I will never put the heater on during the winter. I have one, I live in a house where it’s warm, I’ve got enough cloths to put on, I have just made a decision that I won’t use electricity. I will save, I don’t know who gets it or whatever but I don’t need it because I find it sad that people like, well Eagle Canon, many people in Eagle Canon have, they’re like snobbish because they’ve got a lot of money and they demand certain rights. I won’t demand certain rights, like I want water 24/7 or electricity 24/7 or if there is a problem, there is a problem somebody is going to try and solve it. I’m not going be the one who instigates the person to get out of bed at 1 o’clock in night to go and solve the problem.”

Interview with Renata
Northcliff resident

May15th, 2012

Renata’s comments do not reflect all of the Northcliff residents, however her account provides an example of what living in what is perceived to be the real community means. Her connection with “poor people” is what makes her

²⁶ Please note that even if the committed community contributes to defining the “worth”, this aspect will be elaborated in Chapter 5 as it has strong implications with the management of the estate, the administration of the city of Johannesburg and the ways in which all of these aspects are connected.

more aware of what the real world looks like; her experience makes her realize that she is not entitled to anything at any given time. In this way she differentiates herself from the residents of Eagle Canyon, who, taking the example of a power failure, insist on having it fixed immediately overlooking the dire conditions of many of South African citizens. Other Northcliff residents explain their version of being a real community by pointing out that they are “down to earth”, with no special requests and that it is their connection to the rest of the city that makes them real. Both residents of Northcliff and Eagle Canyon claim to know what the life “out there” is like, they claim to know the situation they are spectators of, and when talking of these situations they feel “blessed”. However, the difference is created by the place in which they live. Northcliff residents feel that they live in the real world and this is why they understand the problems of the “other half”²⁷, while they strongly believe that in Eagle Canyon reality is not considered and experienced. The gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa has sharpened: the census of 2011 reveals that in the city of Johannesburg whites earned an average of 5.3 times more than black Africans. Spatially this is evident in the geography of wealthy gated communities or suburbs and the new informal settlements. PARI’s work on the informal settlement of Zandspruit has attempted to assess the connection between this informal settlement and the new townhouse complexes of the West Rand. There is strong acknowledgement from the residents of the estate about the reality of the poor, which is often spoken about precisely to contrast the common idea that living in a gated golf estate equates to living in a bubble. In this way the notion of living in a fake world or in a bubble is complicated by the emphasis given by the residents of the estate to questions of poverty; expressions such as “we are not stupid, we know what the world out there looks like” (conversation with John and Mary, resident of Eagle Canyon, May 2011), or “this estate might sound a bit insular but we do confront ourselves with the reality out there very often” (Steve, resident of Eagle Canyon, 25th May 2011). Finally Jeff Gilmour, president of the Association for Residential Communities and former resident of the estate explains that this separationist reputation jeopardizes the action and the potentials of estates, which is why a programme to integrate it further within the city at an administrative level has been put in place (and in the context of this work will be described in the next chapter).

In both areas there is the feeling of living in the real world, the estate recognises some of its privilege and neutralizes its “bubble” by stressing the knowledge about the world out there even though it would not compromise on the quality of the services offered by the management. Despite the fact that most of the residents of Northcliff are not involved in activities with “the poor”, as Renanta puts it, there is a general feeling about being able to understand the condition of the poor better, because overall, they live in the same city. Talking about “the poor” is one of the ways in which residents reveal how “real” they are. However it is interesting to note that the difference of the residents of the

²⁷ This expression has been used by a resident of the suburb while going to visit an estate (see 4.5). It is an accidental reference to a book by Jacob Riis titled: “How the other half lives: studies among the tenements of New York” (1890). The book is about geographies of poverty in New York.

estate seems to be stressed at any given time even by those that live in townhouse complexes around the estate and is based on the way of acting and on the excessive “fake smile”:

Today, while going to Pilates the car broke down, as usual these days. Anyway I feel pretty safe as I am inside the estate and nothing can really happen. I first think that it is due to the empty tank, so I ask some of the guys working as gardeners to help me push it to the final destination, which is not far. In the meantime Jill, also attending Pilates classes, comes through, she sees me, she stops and she is very surprised to see me pushing the car with black guys. As we reach the Pilates garage she informs all the ladies about my car problem and she makes sure to point out that she saw me pushing the car with black guys. Oh shame is what the women say and we start the class. Reached the moment that I have to drive back home I face the same problem. The car doesn't start. Jill is next to me and she immediately thinks that the best option is to go back to the Pilates teacher and ask for assistance. Candida, the teacher, smiles at me, she repeats shame, and she very quickly excuses herself and gets inside her place. Jill is just appalled by this and she offers to drive me out of the estate to buy petrol. In the car she starts expresses disappointment with the way Candida has dealt with my car problem and from there she starts talking about them, the ladies at Pilates. Thinking that I am lonely, she drives me to her niece who lives in a complex just behind Eagle Canyon. The security is not as tight as it is on the estate, a boom gate that opens very easily, the houses are not as big and they all look the same...We are more natural here, we are not that pretentious and we have lots of big family gathering, everyone is welcomed, I cook for many people, and you are also welcome, since you are alone.

Jill, the lady who kindly offers to assist me, firstly expresses surprise at seeing me pushing the car with “black guys”, then for realizing how different ladies from the estate are and ultimately showing me how she navigates the area, finally suggesting that I should look for a place to stay in the complexes, because it is more natural and family oriented there. The constant smile of the Pilates teacher was to Jill somehow unnatural and extremely fake as she did not end up helping, but turned her back and shut the door with a big smile. Finally, living in a bubble means not interacting with the real world and being caught in the feeling of having the possibility of doing something, but not doing it. The Smith family further explains it in a conversational evening with some friends at their new house in Robbin Hills close to Northcliff:

“The point is that while you are there you think that there are so many things you can do such as walking, relaxing and being secure, but in reality it is only an illusion. Often residents don't even enjoy this kind of facilities. It is more the idea of being able of doing things.”

The Smith family adds an important aspect to the idea of the fake. Here the fake is about remaking, reproducing a way of living that not only does not exist, but is also not experienced by its residents who live in a place where many things could be done, but in reality people do not necessarily take advantage of them. Walking is one of these activities. While on the estate the idea of being able to walk without fearing crime or being harassed is always dominant, its open spaces are always empty and deserted. Living in the real world as opposed to the fake is about not having their daily life orchestrated and regulated by the management of the HOA. The activities taking place in Northcliff are not regulated by a body corporate. However, as it will become clear in the next paragraphs and chapters, apart from the absence of the direct role of the HOA, the two areas share the same agents of socialization, such as clubs and committees and estate agents, and most importantly these agents of socialization are often dismissed in order to lead a private and individualized life. The community represented and lived in the two areas seems to be moral matter and the truth and loyal way of living in a certain way. Being the real community is not linked to ties within the community itself, but it is more linked. Ideal of living together.

4.1.1. Branding and promoting community

Freie (1998) employs the notion of counterfeit to address the creation of a fake and artificial community in the contemporary neoliberal era. The process of branding that takes place in Eagle Canyon is in a way a process of artificially creating community thanks to the process of branding employed by the HOA. Creation and branding of community though are not necessarily artificial, as they have real effects on the residents that live in the estate. Branding Eagle Canyon is one of the main concerns of the management firstly because in 2011 and 2012 the estate was still struggling to find an identity and secondly because it needed to market itself and be ranked as one of the best estates in Johannesburg. Involving some of its residents, the HOA launched, towards the end of the year 2011, a survey to understand the needs and the discontents of the residents which was to be followed by a competition to elaborate a new logo for the estate. The results of the survey resonated strongly with what the HOA had been concerned about, namely the lack of interest of the residents in the social life of the estate and overall in its management. The process of branding and promoting community then became one of the most crucial missions for the management.

The construction of the estate is now almost complete, and there is a strong debate about the kind of identity the estate should have. For this reason it is undergoing a process of rebranding. Recently, the residents were asked to choose from three different logos. The process of rebranding was accompanied by the writing of a charter (see Appendix B) in which the role and the duties of the community were stated, stressing the importance of the community-minded spirit and respect for family; these were the main points addressed by the charter. Part of the managers' meetings were occupied by the "branding and promotion" question. How to best disseminate the newsletter that was coming

out every week in order to get more residents involved? At the beginning of the 2011 the newsletter was coming out every week both printed and sent via email. Towards the end of year the paper edition was dismissed for ecological reasons: “We send newsletters out, but there is no reception of it. Residents do not read them and they have no clue of what happens. It is always the same people coming to the clubhouse”²⁸.

“I was talking to one of the residents and she was even surprised to hear that we have a clubhouse here”, says Duncan Holmes, the manager of the estate (Fieldnote 25th April 2011). The community aspect of the estate needs to be branded and developed further. A Smart Life Card was adopted in March/April 2012 to boost the attendance at the clubhouse. This card allows residents of the estate (both owners and renters) to earn a 10% discount for each bill at the clubhouse, at the pro-shop and to some of the neighbouring shops. The results of the campaign had yet to be seen at the last meeting I had with a new estate manager in 2013, in fact the clubhouse seemed to be even more deserted, as one of the waiters pointed out: “we are here, and the situation is getting worst, no one comes to the restaurants and even our condition as waiters is deteriorating, as we have less and less tips and our salary is low” (conversation with a waiter, 15th March 2013).

Figure 14. The clubhouse of Eagle Canyon



The branding and marketing of community has certainly had a strong impact on the outside, from where the estate is seen to be a “happy” and “well-functioning” place. The process of branding is the least of the concerns in Northcliff, where there is no such structure and organization. A Northcliff resident over a conversation at her place in Northcliff asks me to leave the house as she needs to prepare to go to Eagle Canyon: “we are going to Eagle Canyon now, to a birthday party. We like going there so much, they really are like a little community there, they have a newsletter and they enjoy their community” (conversation with Tania, resident of Northcliff, 21st march 2012). On the other

²⁸ It is however important to note that these issues of participation are not exclusive to Eagle Canyon, managers of other estates I have visited describe the same situation of lack of participation.

hand in the suburb the lack of branded communitarian life starts to become a threat to some of the socialization spaces such as the country club which is now deserted and not strong enough to claim its importance in the suburb²⁹. In order to face this problem the management has organized a marketing strategy: "... A website. Once the website is done we are going to attack the marketing of the club. So, they are putting a plan together, how they are going to do that at the moment. That is the committee" (Dennis, manager of the Northcliff country club, resident of Berario, 15th May 2012). In this way the country club tries to maintain its old presence relying on contemporary strategies of marketing³⁰. The next paragraph deals with the idea of the old and new and how this two characteristics are entrenched in the contemporary history of South Africa and finally how they link to its past.

4.2. New and old: South Africa and the new country

"Anywhere else in the world, 'old money' refers to families that have been in the money for over a century. That is not quite the definition by South African standards. In Mzansi, we set out own standards. We're just cool and above everyone else's definitions like that. By South African standards, 'old money' is anyone who made their money before 1994 and 'nouveau riche' is anyone who made their money after 1994. When they are black, you stretch it further and say that 'nouveau riche' is the person who made money in the tenderpreneur days of the late-Mbeki or early-Zuma years."

Wanner, 2013, 3

"Old" and "new" is often used to set the terms of difference between the people according to where they live. It has already been mentioned how living in Northcliff is often associated with the real life, while living in Eagle Canyon is correlated to living a fake life, marked by corrupted and compromised values. This section develops further the distinction between the two areas adding another aspect, that of newness and oldness. Eagle Canyon represents the new form of habitation, associated with the new democratic country, while Northcliff represents signs of the past, of the old and of the authentic. Wanner (2013) introduces the new and old question by noting that in South Africa newness is to be read in line with a temporal framework marked by 1994³¹. Being part of the

²⁹The lease of the Northcliff Country Club is about to expire and buyers are offering ingent amount of money to buy the place and convert it into complexes.

³⁰At the time of the research the program of marketing had not yet started, as a consequence it is now difficult to assess if and how it has worked out.

³¹ Many works address the post-apartheid and the post 1994 with the aim of understanding how the role of race has changed overtime with the new dispensation. Transformation and the formation of a new black elite are at the basis of most of the studies which deal both with the changing structures of the state and with the emergence of a new black elite (Bond, Marais, Chipkin, Terreblanche). Gerhard at a symposium held at Wits in 2012 questioned the notion of

new country is exciting and dangerous at the same time. Gated communities belong to the new dispensation, with their organization and their definite boundaries. Living in and accepting the new country is a tough choice and condition for those that have decided to remain in Northcliff as pointed out by Sandra: “this is such a special suburb, it is like a village, even though it has changed and we now don’t know our neighbours, but it is for families, it is quiet, it hasn’t changed much” (Sandra, resident of Northcliff, 11th May 2012).

Hentschel (2007) suggests that what is at stake in the transformation is who is part of the new South Africa and who is not. Families that have moved to Eagle Canyon are part of the new South Africa and feel entitled to it, and they do not feel awkward about their elite lifestyle because black people also live there. According to Northcliff residents the faults of the estate, in addition to being a fake and sumptuous space, are also about not being a new and non-established space.

Andrew, who sits with me at Randpark Ridge Golf Club, explains that the reason why he does not like Eagle Canyon is that they represent new money and they are snooty and he stresses that this is a problem linked to this particular estate, rather than others (conversation with Andrew, 13th March 2012). He owns a house in a golf estate in KZN and he has no issues with the concept of the gated estate. However the “new money” of Eagle Canyon explains his aversion to it. The lavish and sumptuous environment and landscape of the new estate are not solely a form of display of wealth, be it new or old. As a matter of fact the estate represents the new community at many different levels. While at my neighbour’s apartment for a chat and a cup of coffee she reflects on the role of the estate in her life:

“You know, while we were kids we were in Limpopo, we had a big family and we felt protected. After school I came to Johannesburg and I have always lived in the area in complexes, then I got married and we wanted a good property in a golf estate. We opted for this one because it looks nice and it is well run, and most importantly, do you know Ubuntu? ...well this is for us the new form of Ubuntu, as our family is far away and we have no protection. Here there is a form of protection.”

Conversation with Lerato
resident of Eagle Canyon
September 17th, 2011

This interpretation of the new is slightly different from what a white person would have said. To Josephine, a white woman of English and German origins, the new estate is evidence of her new life in Johannesburg:

the post-apartheid era suggesting that given the new structures that in some instances seem to reproduce apartheid it would be more appropriate to talk of post-1994.

“I came here from East London and I left my kids behind. I promised them I would come to make money, they love Eagle Canyon when they come visit and I can’t let it go. This is my new life.”

Resident of Eagle Canyon
August 5th, 2011

Finally, Candida, Afrikaans, loves the space because it recreates in a modern way what she used to experience during her childhood: safeness and the idea of a socially committed life. The estate thus serves the function of reproducing and recreating the old life, Sean Wolpe from the Board Committee highlights that: “We have to go back to our old values. This is one of the missions of the management” (Board Committee Members Meeting).

Digging into the stories and the interpretations of the meaning of the new in Eagle Canyon shows the stark considerations of the residents of Northcliff about the burdens of newness, as something necessarily superficial and meaningless. It is however the lack of a collective memory linked to that space that gives the impression of a somewhat insincere and shallow space. Northcliff does not question itself in terms of newness or oldness. Its residents see the changes of the suburb, the woman I shared the house with for almost a year describes her experience:

“Look, it has been a while, I have been here all my life. And we have moved in different parts of Northcliff. We used to be a community, we knew each other and we would visit. Now it is different, no one is really out there and many of my friends have passed away. I don’t know anyone anymore, if not the lady I cut hair to at her place nearby”

Melanie
resident of Northcliff
April 19th, 2012

Melanie is one of the veterans of Northcliff and she has not adjusted to some of the demographic changes of the suburb. For this reason she does not know the new residents and she feels left out. She was a hairdresser and she still has a few clients coming to her house three days per week. They take her back in time but she does not experience the new form of the suburb.

Still, the collective memory of Eagle Canyon is not only created, but also contested from within: the difference between the old and the new residents of the estate is always marked: “we have been here since the beginning, we were among the first families to move in here, there is great improvement, we believed in it” (interview with Rose, resident of Eagle Canyon, 27th November 2011). The old group of the estate, who established the HOA, and who has life membership to golf club, is also contested by the new residents, who feel that: “it is them, the ones of the HOA, they think the estate is theirs, they might benefit financially from it” (interview with the Smith family, May 15th 2013). Trajectories of change are then peculiar to the estate and the suburb but they manifest themselves differently. Being wary of the HOA not only means

challenging the power of a group, but also challenging some of the conservative forces of the estate (it will be shown shortly that the socio-demographic of estate managers reproduces some of the apartheid patterns as they are mostly Afrikaners with a police background). The newness of the estate is then imbued with strong characteristics of the old dispensation.

The new inhabitants of the suburb are accepted as integral to societal change. Northcliff sees itself as a dynamic community in which all of the aspects co-existence and co-habitation are incorporated. It is a matter of pride to say that new people live here. In Northcliff people cannot be expelled from the area as their belonging is established and although minor changes have occurred in the area, they are still part of it. On the contrary Eagle Canyon is able to dismiss those who do not comply with the rules of the place and it is possible that the place will never fully establish itself. The new community there is a fake one because its history is not acknowledged. However, feeling the newness of the experience (although with strong legacies from the past) is something to be proud of, on the estate, which further explains this aspect in terms of a complex twist of racial relations. The next paragraph will deal with questions of homogeneity and heterogeneity in these spaces.

4.3. Homogeneity/heterogeneity: victims of the past, but looking ahead

“The theme of this year’s Christmas cooking and table decoration class is Mandela. It might be his last Christmas.”

Debbie
resident of Eagle Canyon
cooking class convener at her place in Eagle Canyon
November 12th, 2011

Gated developments are spaces in which a high degree of homogeneity is guaranteed all over the world (Lemanski 2006; Roitman 2005). Racial and class homogeneity in South Africa forms part of the spatial landscape historically, with no exception to the suburb (the model upon which the gated community has been built). The 2011 census (Table 3) shows that both Eagle Canyon and Northcliff share the same racial breakdown; the white population is on average 70% per cent, while the black population ranges between 13% and 18%. Looking at income, the GCRO (Gauteng City Region Observatory) reveals that the two areas also share the same income bracket, as shown in Chapter 1. Despite these similarities the homogeneity of the estate stands out as special and exceptional vis à vis the racial and social homogeneity of the suburb. The physical outlook of the estate becomes the proxy for the ultimate space of racial segregation, thus its homogeneity is more noticeable and criticized than that of the suburb. But what then are the differences? Endorsing the new South African rhetoric of the post 1994, of a new non-racial³² country, the estate markets itself

³² For a detailed analysis of the notion of non-racialism historically in South Africa see the report realised by the Katharda foundation;

as a welcoming space for all those who have a community-minded spirit. Not having a governing body that institutionalizes the terms of the community and its management, Northcliff sees itself in line with the new country only for being spatially and administratively fully integrated into the city. This section explores how homogeneity and heterogeneity are valued differently in the two spaces and it reveals how these come to be important signs to prove the “worth” of the community. Specifically it will show how Eagle Canyon emphasizes its perceived heterogeneity and how Northcliff is proud of its homogeneity. In response to the accusation of being fake, new and flashy, Eagle Canyon puts forward two strategies to prove that its space is heterogeneous, and thus a good one. The first one stresses the presence of blacks on the estate and their openness to accept them provided that they are not poor, thus showing that they do not mind about the racial connotation of the estate. The second strategy is the employment of racial talk in which contestation is towards the ANC and BEE abstractly and not about the residents that live in the estate, nor Nelson Mandela, the icon of struggle and liberation that even at cooking classes is embraced (see initial quote). On the contrary in Northcliff homogeneity (racial and socio-economic) is encouraged and it is valued as a guarantee to the well-being of the suburb, thus its residents object openly to the black neighbors. It is no surprise to note that many of the residents of the estate are proud to say that they have a black or an Indian neighbour.

“I don’t mind if my neighbour is black, as long as he is not a plumber”³³, says Maria (resident of Eagle Canyon, 26th September 2011) while she does not acknowledge the presence of the domestic worker in the kitchen cleaning up the table after supper, “actually, let’s speak English so that she doesn’t understand”, she keeps saying. There is an extremely interesting point in this assertion, as well as a contradiction. Firstly it clearly shows that if someone is able to live in Eagle Canyon, the colour of the skin is not important, because it will not create problems as Liezl from Eagle Canyon comments:

“Racially, there are many black people staying here and it goes with BEE. But if you can afford it, why not?”

private conversation
November 20th, 2011

The corollary to it is that residents of the estate believe they have overcome all racial problems and they express their racial concerns differently.

Homogeneity in the suburb is linked to the fact that blacks might not be as wealthy or simply do not know how to take care of the house and end up denigrating the suburb. Racial comments are overt because the danger is seen as real. On the other hand on the estate residents are free to say that they enjoy and

(<http://www.kathradafoundation.org/images/documents/Leadership%20booklet%20280512.pdf>)

³³ Similarly Ballard (2002) illustrates that in Berea, a wealthy suburb of Durban white residents are not worried about having Indian neighbours as long as they do not wreck the area.

emphasize their perceived greater heterogeneous space because they know that it is regulated (this aspect will be addressed in more details in the next chapter).

A resident of Northcliff describes how he thinks about different races:

“No, no sure. Unfortunately, this does sound racist but it is true, wherever Africans move in, en masse, it’s fine a few individuals, that’s great, no problem. But, like Hillbrow, that was a wonderful place to live, especially for young people, there were lots of restaurants, good restaurants, there were Italian, French, German restaurants, it was a hive of activity, people used to gather there. Now, no one goes near there, it’s not safe. The centre of Johannesburg, to a large extent, is the same, it is dangerous and people don’t go there at night. There used to be very good restaurants in the centre of Johannesburg. When the apartheid laws became much more relaxed blacks used to go there and enjoy themselves but now they tend to be all black. They wreck an area, I am afraid. I mean whether you like it or not, it’s a fact.” *He continues*: “It is a too expensive area [here] for them so it remains predominantly a white area. A few professional ones that come in are decent people, I am talking about black people now, they don’t create problems because there are not many of them and it is not a totally upmarket area like Sandton and Houghton, these places, where the very rich blacks want to move in”.

Interview with Ray

June 15th, 2012

Ray moved to Northcliff in the Fifties from London where he was born. Coming from this exciting and vibrant city at first he did not enjoy South African life. However he found a suitable environment in Northcliff where he bought a house and has since been living. The interview talks about the memory of the past as a quiet and safe space and about racial relations by providing an account of its interpretation of mixed suburbs. Overall he is happy to live in Northcliff because the space has not changed drastically. In this sense Ray explains that the reason why he is comfortable living there is that he loves the racial homogeneity, a sort of guarantee to the quality of the space.

According to Nuttall racial identities are in the process of softening; she claims that a new young black middle class is identifiable as actor of a process of “self-stylization” by virtue of which there is an inclination to “soften race and class difference by invoking the powerful notion of style” (Nuttall 2008, p.111) experienced through the possibility of consumption that “activates deep impulses of desire that are commonly shared beyond race” (my emphasis) (Ibid, 113). In this way they aim to “bridge the gap of race” (Ibid, 113). Nuttall, in her analysis considers consumption, in the form of self-stylization, as the gateway to bridging the race gap, however she misses a very important point, namely the environment in which this softening takes place and the agents that facilitate them. Chipkin (2012), in stark contrast to Nuttall, argues that racial identities do not soften, but reinvigorate. Looking at the process of middle-classing in townhouse complexes of the West Rand, he notes that in a multi-racial residential space many are still strongly attached to their racial identities, “yet they are changing the landscape of metaphors, values and practices to which

they are being directed” (2012, p. 73). Eagle Canyon seems to experience a blend of the two, where thanks to the possibility of self-stylization, racial identities are reinvigorated. In fact, it is precisely thanks to the financial resources that allows blacks³⁴ to enter the luxurious estate market, and to the action of the HOA that regulates life within, that racial identities reinvigorate.

The presidency in 2013 revealed that since 2006 confidence in a happy future for all races decreased dramatically. While from 2000 to 2006 over 50% of all races believed in a happy future with a peak of 85% in 2005, in 2012 only 58% was confident. Equally in 2012 only 39% of respondents thought that public opinion on race relations was improving, registering a stark decrease from 2000 when 72% of the respondents had a positive thought on racial relations. What do these results say at a time in which the government is investing in socio-political programmes to foster non-racialism³⁵ and at a time where in South Africa racially defined spaces are still very prominent?

Looking beyond the pride of being heterogeneous and open or being homogeneous, a different way of dealing with race needs to be acknowledged. Whereas de facto Eagle Canyon is pretty homogeneous even considering that white homogeneity should be challenged, Johannes (2012) discusses that in Featherbrook, a luxurious estate of the West Rand, “the physical basis of social exclusion is reinforced by the perceived social homogeneity of residents. This social homogeneity is reinforced by a sense of community that regulates and governs social norms and behaviors within these communities” (3). The sense of homogeneity is created to maintain a community yet stressing the official heterogeneous rhetoric. In fact the idea of living in an ideal space with an ideal community is immediately challenged when discussing the role of the managers and of the HOA members: “it is only Afrikaners who have the power to change, they are the ones in the board committee and they are the ones who decide about everything” (common expression). Even though Afrikaners are only 50% of the white population of the estate, they are perceived to be the one that dominate the scene. Johannes (2012) in a study of Featherbrook estate has shown that the white group inhabiting that estate is indeed a very heterogeneous one. The same can be said of the white group of Eagle Canyon. The main friction was between the Afrikaans and the English, which was coming out very strongly, as Marco, the restaurant manager, points out:

³⁴ Looking at black ownership (as opposed to black ownership as a % of total ownership), it is heartening to see a solid shift up the property-value ladder. If we consider, upliftment “to be movement out of the affordable often RDP sector, the proportion of black owners that own mid-value and higher homes (outside of township areas) grew from 13% in 2003 to 17% in 2008 and to 19% currently. White ownership of mid value plus properties dropped from 83% to 82% and to 81% over the same periods” Lightstone, Newsletter March 2013, last accessed, 15th August 2014
http://www.lightstone.co.za/Portal/uploads/newsletters/Property_Newsletter_March_2013.pdf

³⁵ In the years 2010-2013 the Gauteng Planning Commission has organized workshops to discuss how to achieve non-racialism and the role of the communities. Please see website: <http://gauteng2055.co.za/the-gauteng-planning-commission-gpc/>)

“People here like to complain, especially Afrikaners from the HOA”

Private conversation after a managers meeting,

June 5th, 2011

This problem is not as prominent in Northcliff where the management of the area is left in the hands of the new dispensation and since 1994:

“we acquired a president, and a municipal government, which I am happy to place on record, on your tape recorder, is the most dysfunctional organisation in South Africa”

interview with Breckenridge

residents of Northcliff

March 6th, 2012

Again in Northcliff the real problem is the new black dysfunctional management, which needs to be addressed and the difficulty of dealing with such bad management leads the residents to stress the racial connotation of the issues in the suburb.

Racial tensions are more than evident in the estate, and are mostly seen in terms of discrimination: Cynthia, originally from Hong Kong, moved to the estate four years ago with her family. She has had a fight with the HOA because she thought they were being racist towards her:

“they fined us because we painted this wall in the wrong colour, but can you see how many weird houses are around here? Why me, I think they are racists!”

Cynthia

Resident of Eagle Canyon

October 12th, 2012

Cynthia’s experience contrasts strongly with the official policy of the HOA, which is that of accommodating residents’ needs in terms of housing characteristics: at the board committee meeting a point on the agenda is precisely approving a house that is pinkish for religious reasons.

Yaw, a Ghanaian man, points out that he has been discriminated by the HOA, and he had to pay an extra fine because someone told the HOA he was running a business from home which he is not allowed to do. He claims that he was doing some charity work and that fining him was an act of racism.

Apart from this institutional racism, social life also seems to be very homogeneous: on my first entrance to the social life of the estate I meet Toivo, she is black and she had never come to the Monthly Lucky Draw at the clubhouse:

“Just come to the clubhouse, you’ll see us, we are sitting at a table, we are the only black people”, she says to show that the clubhouse is just a white space. Apart from a few Indian families, Toivo was the only black woman there, and she stressed later when she said: “we (blacks) stopped going to the Lucky Draw, black families never win, there must be something against us”

Conversation with Toivo
May 15th, 2013

Table 5: *Census results 2011*

	Area	Households	Population	White	Black African	Indian or Asian	Coloured	Other
<i>Golf Estates</i>								
Eagle Canyon	2.65 km²	849 (320 per km²)	2594 (977 per km²)	1990 76.5%	335 13%	148 6%	80 3%	41 1.5
Dainfern Golf Estate	2.94 km ²	1530 (520 per km ²)	4439 (1510 per km ²)	2704 61%	1152 26%	341 7.5%	76 1.5%	166 4%
<i>Suburbs</i>								
Northcliff	9.06 km²	5489 (606 per km²)	14664 (1619 per km²)	9316 63.5%	3349 23%	1099 7.5%	719 5%	182 1%
Fairland	5.29 km²	3665 (692 per km²)	9127 (1724 per km²)	6112 67%	2012 22%	574 6%	311 3.5 %	117 1.5%
Berario	1.04 km²	848 (816.66 per km²)	2248 (2164 per km²)	1643 73%	405 18%	74 3.5%	97 4.5%	29 1 %
Sandton	143.54 km ²	94343 (657 per km ²)	222415 (1549 per km ²)	110723 50%	77117 34.5%	24732 11%	5556 2.50%	4286 2%
<i>Inner City</i>								
Hillbrow	1.08 km ²	24857 (22941 per km ²)	74131 (68418 per km ²)	296 0.5%	72888 98%	189 0.3%	638 1%	119 0.2%
Berea	1.01 km ²	14618 (14420 per km ²)	42801 (42221 per km ²)	305 0.7%	41559 97%	365 1%	396 1%	176 0.3%
Yeoville	0.97 km ²	5310 (5467 per km ²)	18884 (19442 per km ²)	298 1.5%	18218 96.6%	91 0.5%	200 1%	77 0.4%
<i>City of Johannesburg</i>								
	1644.98 km ²	1434856 (872.26 per km ²)	4434827 (2695.97 per km ²)	544530 12.28%	3389278 76.42%	216198 4.88%	247276 5.58%	37545 0.85%

This uncomfortable racial situation is usually accompanied by similar race talk from white residents:

“Blacks are very proud, they think we want to steal something from them, I would like to do something good for them, they are so beautiful”

Ballet teacher
resident of Northcliff
September 20th, 2012

“What do you think about black people? Do you think we are racist?”

Laura
resident of Eagle Canyon
August 20th, 2011

“The cleaner in the street is so fat, how can she even clean, that’s why our streets are dirty”

Nicky
residents of Northcliff
May 30th, 2012

Race talk continues to be extremely prominent in both spaces, but it seems to have a different function. While in Eagle Canyon it has a much more moral value as Laura shows, in Northcliff it is harsh and open. The softening of racial identities does not seem to take place, what seems to happen is the development of the “good” race talk by the side of Eagle Canyon residents, who in different situations accompany this “good” race talk with a harsh one, in line with that of Northcliff as Josephine once showed:

Josephine was sitting on the couch sipping a bottle of wine and watching TV when she received a phone call from her daughter who attends a private school in East London. She was crying because someone had done something wrong to her...Joanna was firstly very calm, after hearing the story she started screaming “oh that kaffir³⁶, she can’t do that, I am going to call the school manager”. After the conversation she become red, increased the amount of wine she was drinking and stared at the TV for a while.

Fieldnote
Eagle Canyon
October 25th, 2011

³⁶ Pejorative name for black people

There are thus two different ways of understanding and interpreting the racial mix and the racial separation. On the one hand the estate provides the formal conditions for a racially heterogeneous community, in which the various racial groups are protected and no resident could claim not to want a black neighbor. On the contrary in Northcliff such sentiment of aversion is blatant because not having formal guarantees on the “selection of residents”, the possibility of blacks “wrecking” the place, as Ray White put it, is always a threat to the quality of the area. However, in both areas race talk becomes harsh and in Eagle Canyon, despite having and accepting black neighbors, a form of hatred is often expressed in moments of difficulty and when it does not invade the very private sphere:

“I don’t mind my kid having black friends, but I am not ready for him to have a black girlfriend”

Laura
resident of Eagle Canyon
August 20th, 2011

Racial homogeneity is similar in the two areas, however residents of Eagle Canyon perceive themselves as more open to the world, as they live in this modern space in which there are blacks. They are relaxed about the presence of blacks and this allows a stronger racial identity of differentiation within the same place, where

“The processes of identity, reinvention and making sense among former ruling social categories are especially analytically challenging as various fractured forms of adaptation emerge. After the initial optimistic phase around the arrival of the ‘New South Africa’ in the 1990s and the ideal of a common and inclusive South African ‘rainbow nation’, resurgences in post-apartheid re-racialization of citizenship have occurred as South Africans continue to presume, define and police ‘fixed, prescribed ways’ of being ‘black or white’”

Erasmus 2005:28

Finally, more than a push towards the creation of a non-racial society, this form of re-racialization speaks about the role of:

“Reactionary and conservative forces (that) have co-opted non-racialism, which they now equate with colour-blindness. They use non-racialism as a weapon to discredit any attempt to deracialize property, institutions and structures inherited from an odious past. Rather than promoting affinities, they invite us to celebrate our differences – in an ironic twist that tragically reveals the extent of apartheid’s posthumous victory.”

Mbembe, 2014

4.4. Community as leisure or as commitment?

I opened this chapter by addressing one of the main concerns about community in these spaces, namely that of being real or being fake and I have demonstrated that the role of the HOA in creating such spaces is quite unique, especially on the estate. I have then showed how they are linked to the idea of the new community in a new country. However, the networks and the communities that are created (to which different spaces are associated as we have seen in Chapter 3) could be further analysed as networks of leisure and of commitment. Both the HOA on the estate and associations such as Rotary or the Lions, together with estate agents and other charity associations, not last the various community policing forums (which are going to be dealt with in Chapter 6) are vested in organizing community and in creating a communitarian feeling in the two areas. A complex set of reactions takes place by the residents that on the one hand create leisure communities independently from the institutions but on the other hand they rely on some of their regulations. The leisure and the commitment of communities are intertwined. Some of the leisure takes place thanks to the spaces provided by the institutions, but most of the leisure of the two groups takes place in empty and private spaces. The idea of leisure is nurtured by the incessant talk about holidays and their nice life, especially on the estate where a holiday type of life is marketed. The leisure community is associated with the fake one and contrasted with their commitment. Understanding community as commitment needs a deeper analysis of the governing bodies of the two areas, and this will be elaborated on in the next chapter. While it is mostly the more prominent residents of the estate that stress their commitment to the community and to the overall society, the remainder are content with a happy and easy life. Northcliff residents stress their commitment to society by the mere fact that they have not decided to live in a bubble; however, on a different levels the commitment is often related to elements of beautification and liveability of the two areas. In this section I show how the leisure community plays a role in defining the “worth”. The strong emphasis put on leisure from Eagle Canyon makes it seem a frivolous estate and overshadows the commitment, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

4.4.1. Leisure and apathy: holiday talks and dullness

Suburban life has been described as gendered, conservative and boring, and suburbs as spaces in which there is a great divide between the public and the private sphere. At a first glance, the social life of gated estates seems to be the antithesis of such apathy and disinterest. Often what misleads this conception is the idea that gated estates are there because residents long for community and a tight social life. However the tension between the ideal of living in a communitarian way and leading an individualized life is perfectly expressed by how leisure is created and lived. Different spaces of socialization and modes of creating community could be found.

Spontaneous socialization at the Clubhouse or the Country Club

The lady I live with spends her time sitting at the kitchen counter and drinking wine, she often offers some to me and she talks incessantly about her financial problems. She is looking for a job but she cannot find one, this is why she drinks, so she claims. She goes to the clubhouse from time to time looking for business possibilities. Drinking at the clubhouse seems to be one of the main activities, both for men and women. The clubhouse becomes a fertile space for encounters, especially for those that do not have a family and overall it represents a space of safe leisure, as Sarah once explained by saying: “you always go there, find a man for me. I need money” (conversation with Sarah, resident of Eagle Canyon, 8th July 2011). Often it would happen that drunken men had to be driven home by the security staff, in order to keep the estate safe. Given the level of alcohol consumed and the problems that drinking and driving inside the estate might cause, in 2012 the management of the club decided to assist drunken people in reaching their residencies. Due to excess alcohol consumption, from time to time the situation gets out of control and cases of smashed windows, harassment of waiters, often on racial basis, and loudness are often reported during the weekly managers’ meetings.

The same families and individuals frequent the clubhouse over time, yet as pointed out by the management, only 15% of the residents go there, even though all of the residents are automatically members. Men usually stop to have a drink after a golf game or after work before going home for dinner. One can often find a group of self-defined Rhodesian men, dressed in light colours shorts and T-shirt, sitting at the table after golf until the closure of the clubhouse talking about the sumptuousness of the estate, and of their wish to buy a property there while discussing the last fishing holiday in Zimbabwe, but not interacting with any of the residents. At another table there is a couple who has decided to come to the clubhouse for supper because they are too lazy to cook, and it is nice to support the business. But one is also likely to see men drinking alone at the counter downing three pints of beer before returning to the family. Occasionally a black couple joins in for dinner or a black man sits at the counter, but as Yaw from Ghana says:

“Well, we come here, but we feel discriminated by the others”

Resident of Eagle Canyon

October 12th, 2011

At times the clubhouse is used by the residents for functions and festivals (Indian festivals or birthday parties).

The moments of leisure at the clubhouse are often extended to pubs near the estate: “these are a bit rough, but they are fun” the lady I live with explains, “and we feel safe, there are a lot of men and there are not black people”. Music in these pubs is loud, dancing is always on the go and drinks kill the conversation and draw everyone to the floor.

The experience of the country club in Northcliff is of a different tone, but somehow similar. While it is a highly masculine space, where almost no women go for drinks, it seems to be at the same time an indulgent and cosy space. The antique, old furniture of the country club contrasts with the contemporary outlook of the clubhouse and its feeling of emptiness. The country club has a longer history, its manager narrates that it was founded in

“1956 by a group of Jewish people ... As time goes by the Jewish people have moved out ... This club has been a thriving club. We have squash, tennis, bowls, and obviously social and a total of 45 members who live around the area. The demographics of the membership has changed because the Jewish people have all left and gone to Israel, Australia or the States or New Zealand. So there is no Jewish member here anymore. The people that buy houses on the ridge probably feel that the club is below their social status, and they become members of other clubs such as the Rand Club or Wanderers.”

Dennis
manager of the country club and resident of Berario
May 15th, 2012

The current inappropriateness of the country club to meet the needs of the residents of Northcliff has resulted in a deeper decay of the place. Only old residents still go there for a drink before dinner.

Organized socialization in Eagle Canyon

The nights at the clubhouse on the occasion of the monthly draw are pretty much the same. This is the main event of the estate as owners of properties might win some money at the lottery. Yet, usually it is possible to find the same people. The marketing manager as usual roams around with her camera to report the event in the newsletter and the experience of it can be daunting to the inexperienced drinker. The hall of the clubhouse is usually packed, music is loud, and it is almost impossible to get a drink at the bar. The organization provides a DJ³⁷ for the evening and a festive atmosphere is noticeable on this occasion the estate showcases its ability to organize social events. Long moments of music are suspended with the lottery and price giving. Apart from the first prize (a conspicuous amount of money), there are other prizes gently offered by some of the most notable people of the estate. These are usually the ones that have lived there for a long time and that have a successful business. Tony Spaghetti for instance, the owner of a chain of Italian restaurants and resident of the estate, offers coupons for meals, while the owner of Clean Deline,

³⁷ The DJ is an English/Afrikaans boy in his late twenties. He works mainly in the West Rand and he is trying to promote Afrikaans music: “it is the music that they want and here in the West it is just extremely popular. I also play at the Kegs down by Lifestyle center and you should see, also black people dance saki-saki” (Interview with the DJ, 15th October 2011).

a cleaning company and who also works with the hair salon of the estate, offers bottles of whiskey or other gadgets. On many occasions the situation gets “out of control” and it is towards the end of the evening that drunken people do not want to go home, or when shady situations happen. It is time for flirting, for being updated on who is divorced and who is looking for a partner and for making jokes about it. It is when gossips and animosities become more vivid, where comments linked to race come out in the open and when relationships change, at times turning into “let’s have sex” talk and relationships change. But the estate also organizes events such as the Easter egg hunt, a more family oriented activity, and in partnership with the most active estate agencies, a Christmas Carol event in December and the Halloween competition which involves all the families who want to decorate their houses and masked kids run around the estate.

As a contrast, due to its lack of resources and limited membership, the country club in Northcliff does not organize social events and in this regard the organized community does not gather around this facility. As a matter of fact there is no such experience in the suburb, and only clubs such as Rotary and a few committees organize activities (not well attended) that are a mixture of leisure and commitment (see 4.4.2).

Well-being and sport

Nails, hair and beauty of the body in general are the main concerns of many of the female residents of Eagle Canyon. Candida has seen the gap and since she moved onto the estate has started Pilates³⁸ classes in her garage. She teaches three days per week, and each day has at least four slots. She used to be a ballet teacher in the past, but now she wants to relax, and teaching Pilates on the estate is quite conducive to this. Most of her clients come from the estate, but some of them come from the outside, thanks to her wide network. The quality of her classes is often explained by expressions such as “oh yes, she really makes us look good for summer”, or when Candida goes “come on ladies, today we working our butts, we should focus”. The mode and the pace of the class is relaxed and there is usually a five minutes break in which everyone chats about the latest news. Often conversations are about family, beauty: “ladies, I have got an appointment to tattoo eyebrows, it will be done here, anyone wants to come?” Other general topics of discussion are the house, the problems with the maid, the difficulty of daily life and the management of the estate, its beauty and the tranquillity that it offers.

The estate also offers an official training programme to its residence at the gym, a small but professional space in which clients are entitled to a personal trainer. The gym is of property of the HOA, it thus offers good quality service for a very modest price to all of the residents. However, as with many of the activities offered by the HOA, it is not well attended.

³⁸ Interview with managers of other estates have revealed that Pilates is a common activity among women in many estates.

Well-being and sport is not just a concern in the estate. The recreation centre in Berario, Northcliff, offers a wide range of activities. This centre is one of the oldest of the city and one of the best functioning. A total of more than 15 activities ranging from ballet to painting are offered. Residents of the area are very proud of it, especially of the fact that it is recognized as a good centre by many Johannesburgers, who come to join activities from all over the city, and especially from the northern suburbs. One of the highlights is the ballet course, which the passionate Kariena leads every day for different levels. The adult ballet classes are held at 9am where a total number of two moms attend. They are committed to learning to dance and to making their silhouette nice: “oh, my husband told me I look nice, and yes, I do stretch and do weights in the morning”. While the concerns about the body and the look are similar to the women of Eagle Canyon, conversations are not necessarily confined to the suburb level, there is often talk about the state of the nation and of how Johannesburg is changing during the frequent breaks of the class.

Finally, both the estate and the suburb host tennis clubs. While the tennis club of Northcliff has a long history in the area and is quite active with social events on Mondays and training and tournaments during the week, the tennis club of the estate is still trying to find its way and to establish itself.

“You are welcome, come and sit with us, we really are nice people, we like to play and to enjoy, and today we are having a social lunch”

Lunch conversation at the Tennis Club in Northcliff
October 23rd, 2012

On the contrary the ladies at the Eagle Canyon Tennis Club present themselves as extremely busy in organizing perfect events, worrying about how to raise money and whom to contact in the estate to obtain sponsorships.

Private leisure

A series of leisure activities take place inside the estate, none of them is promoted through the newsletter but it is thanks to word of mouth that they are advertised. It is somehow a reaction to the organized activities of the HOA, which do not meet completely the needs of the residents.

Walking around the estate one cannot but be caught in a feeling of emptiness. Apart from cars driving around and continuous smiles, most leisure activities happen inside the houses. Women that want to pursue their hobbies and want to boost their social life inside the estate run these activities, and they are at the intersection between leisure and business. Scrapbooking for instance takes place at Michelle’s house:

“my husband has created this little studio for me and a couple of years ago I have started these classes, we have fun here, we talk, we have coffee, we gossip about what goes on inside here and we do give space to our own creativity”

Conversation during the class with Michelle

Women attending the classes talk about their houses, their problems with the family and how busy they are dealing with anything that might happen. Another example of private leisure and business is that of the cooking class, which takes place once every three months where women both from the estate and from outside gather to learn to cook gourmet food “to surprise your hubbies and friends”, as the convenor puts it. Private leisure is a way of filling the emptiness of the big houses and it is the time for fantasising about holidays, talking about furniture, houses, weddings and gossiping about the latest news of divorce or marriages in the estate. But private leisure is also about throwing parties at home and inviting the internal network of the estate and at times people from the outside. Private leisure is more racially divided and segregated than the organized one or the one that happens spontaneously at the clubhouse.

Golf: the total package

The golf course is one of the highlights of the estate even though only 15% of the residents use it to play golf. Still, it provides what is commonly described as the “lifestyle” and the “nice landscape”, this is why many have bought a property in the estate. Often new members start to play golf once they move into the estate, thanks to the wide and organized advertisement put in place by the various committees (the ladies’ committee, the organizing of the open mix, the leagues).

Golf is the “total leisure package” as it implies a form of spontaneous leisure, an organized one, a set of private networks (families and friends), people that both at home and at the club meet to organize events. Often the same women and men involved in the functioning of golf are also members of the tennis club.

The role of both golf and the golf course in the two areas differs and it is determined by the landscape, the affiliation and the people that organize it. The Smith family after having moved out of the estate has started going to the Randpark Ridge Club:

“Sometimes we go and we don’t even play golf, and you should see how nice it is here. The clubhouse has excellent food and the view is magnificent. The golf course is green, there are trees around and all you see if you play golf is a nice landscape around you”

Conversation with the Smith family
May 15th, 2013

Not only is the social and visual experience different, but also that of the game, as reported by Andrew: “It is nicer to play here in Randpark, we feel the quality of the golf course, the quality of the air, of the service”.

The quality, the shape and the landscape surrounding the golf course model the experience of the game, which is not only about winning or being well ranked, but also about feeling welcomed and well treated by the hosting club. Employing the same parameters that define a “worthy” community, golfers of the two areas also define where the “worth” of the golf community stands.

While for non-residents of the estate playing competitions in Eagle Canyon means entering a space that by regulation belongs to its residents and owners of properties, thus entering a space where propriety is defined by a collective, the other golf club located in the middle of the suburb does not convey a feeling of closure. Two aspects establish the distinction.

The first is that golf on the estate does not only become a means of showcasing techniques, improvement and dressing style, it is also a way of asserting affiliation to the space. Driving the golf cart on the golf course of the estate, means also looking at private houses, it means showing that one is part of that place: “look at that house, it is 2000 meters” says Duncan, “they had to buy three stands to build this house, and there is just one family living there, you see, I think that it is too much, houses should be of an average of 600 meters, like mine and Michelle’s”. The residents gossip about estate matters and they show that they are not mere spectators of the houses around the golf course. On the other hand the outsiders do discuss and comments on the properties but they are more concerned with the quality of the facilities and golf related offers:

“Look at that house, I don’t even know how much it could be, it is insane”

David, golf player in Eagle Canyon
resident of Weltevrieden Park
September 12th, 2011

“Some of the houses are very strange, weird colours, and they are so big”

David
golf player in Eagle Canyon
resident of Weltevrieden Park
September 12th, 2011

The golf course then becomes something more than a mere sports field as it contributes to enhancing not only the spirit of the community, but also shaping identities of those that play. Playing golf in the estate represents leisure, well-being, socialization and also asserting their residency on the estate and it is also about showing the commitment to foster and promote its well-being. Secondly, the estate shapes a way of playing which is described by players of the Randpark Ridge Golf Club as “snooty” and pretentious: “they think they are better, just because they live in Eagle Canyon”, Andrew says. This idea of the members of

Eagle Canyon being better somehow sets the norm for “good golf” and gives them a sense of pride, of not being in a losing competition with other clubs, because, as Rosemary explains:

“It’s a golf course where you got to think; you can’t just go on it and hit the ball because it’s got a lot of water. There is water on 16 out of 18 holes. So you can’t just hit the longest ball all the time. Sometimes you got to hit to the front of the water and then over it. I love it, I don’t get bored”

Interview with Rosemary
resident of Eagle Canyon
November 14th, 2011

The various ways in which the leisure community materializes, is created and contested differently from the suburb to the estate. On the estate the HOA is the main formal agent of socialization. The clubhouse organises events such as themed dinners, wine tastings and book launches. The HOA and the residents – sometimes thanks to the sponsorship of some of the estate agents who work on the estate – organise social events aimed at bringing the residents together. These include the garden club, golf club, special meals, monthly draw, and so on. The residents are informed about these events on a weekly basis via an email newsletter that includes other news of the estate. The question of sociability can be understood better when one looks at the internal social organisation, networks and profile of the residents of the estate, which informs the type of social formation that is created by the residents in their daily actions and by the formal organisation and jurisdiction enforced by the body corporate and the HOA. As suggested before, it is in the processes of branding community that the attempt of HOA to create leisure spaces produces two aspects of sociability – the “natural” and the “artificial” – which make them explicit in the different ideas of community envisaged: on the one hand by the HOA, which deliberately acts to create an active social life within the estate, encouraging strong participation in monthly events at the clubhouse and in other events during the year (such as a Fun Run, Easter events), in this way making the community exist in an administrative form; on the other hand by the friendship/family/business networks that people create on the estate, based on previous relationships or on new ones. Former networks are sometimes visible at organised events of the HOA, but they often remain hidden as they are not publicised formally and are known through a process of word of mouth. When looking at the sociability issue, we see a different viewpoint between the HOA and the residents on how to look at community. Residents’ networks are more likely to be informal and spontaneous, and in most cases they are connected to a business activity, not always declared to the HOA. In a sense, this represents a way of creating community in opposition to the one informed by the HOA. The leisure community is one in which the residents and the activity are put together in order to ensure and guarantee a good lifestyle, and while in Eagle Canyon it is likely to happen within the estate in a confined space, in Northcliff it happens in the vicinity of the residence, but without the feeling of containment. The leisure

happening in Eagle Canyon is a totalizing experience to the residents of Northcliff who do not experience such “community” and who sometimes, especially when playing golf, sees not only a difference in organization, but also in the way of enjoying and understanding the surrounding environment. It should not be surprising then that Northcliff residents do not particularly emphasize their involvement in leisure activities. Given the emphasis on leisure at Eagle Canyon which the residents accept as part of the lifestyle of the estate, some of them are involved in golf as well and they talk continuously about how to organize events to keep up the standard of the estate. The estate is somehow in competition with other ones, and while it is the duty of the HOA to make sure that those standards are met, active residents are the ones that care about it and work to make things a success. It is precisely this competitive tendency that marks the difference between the estate and the suburb.

However, the leisure community and the networks in both areas seem to be dominated by a general feeling of apathy and emptiness. Driving both around the estate and the suburb one can barely see the presence of other residents. Houses are big and the big glass windows give a feeling of absence of people. Tomolisons (1993) talks about leisure as commitment to identify leisure activities led not only for hedonistic reasons. Most of the organized leisure in Eagle Canyon is considered to be a form of commitment to enhance the estate while having fun and conducting a holiday type of life: it is a form of leisure thanks to which individuals reproduce societal power relations and stress the position of the individuals in the city. Part of this kind of leisure is the creation of business networks, which at times coincide with leisure (see Pilates and scrapbooking).

However the leisure found in both areas is also a casual one with a highly personal perspective where play, relaxation, heavily drinking, sex, indulgent in nature, and self-gratification are the most important characteristics (Stebbins, 1997).

This kind of leisure can be public or private, in the sense that most of it is experienced in the private realm under the influence of alcohol and holiday talk. Being alone and drinking a glass of wine or being invited by someone for a drink is one of the most common experiences of estate living, where the sense of community becomes individualized and shared with few intimate people (those who decide not to go to the clubhouse do it because they think that it is too cliquey). Descriptions of holidays or organization of holidays both within South Africa or to Europe are very common:

“We just came back from Mauritius, it was so lovely. Our friends own a house in a complex there, so nice and clean. Most of the property owners are South African. We had fun and lots of wine”

Candida
resident of Eagle Canyon
April 12th, 2012

“we are going to New Orleans this year, I am looking forward to it, and to the shopping!”

Michelle
resident of Eagle Canyon
December 7th, 2011

But holidays are also often recalled and narrated through activities such as scrapbooking where women sit and organize albums of past family holidays. Talking of South African holidays is also very recurrent, where the main concerns are about giving tips of good camping sites and guesthouses. Those that do not take leave still enjoy the holiday talk and participate in it recounting past experiences. In Northcliff an equivalent stress is put in this kind of talk, but more often the focus would be on “domestic matters” such as the latest news and problems linked to the household.

A last striking aspect of the leisure community, especially in the closed environment of Eagle Canyon is the talk of sex and the ways sexual relationships are considered. While at the clubhouse, there is a recurrent talk among both men and women about finding a girlfriend or having affairs.

Overall though there is a common thread in the talk which is kept to the everyday and mundane (Steyn 2012) and which is commonly expressed by declarations such as:

“Yes, we have travelled a lot, but we don’t like to talk about politics or our country. It is so beautiful, we just want to enjoy, we don’t like politics”

Candida
resident of Eagle Canyon
May 4th, 2012

Unlike Eagle Canyon, given the lack of organized activities in Northcliff, the decadence of the country club and the openness of the Recreation Centre, does not represent something to be proud of. The Randpark Ridge Golf Club is in stark competition with the Eagle Canyon one, and it is where commitment to leisure is very strong as it is here that the differences between the two areas starts to be defined involving not only leisure, but also commitment to creating a safe, good and quality environment in which to play golf. This has a specific internal connection in Eagle Canyon, as the quality of the golf course and clubs are taken as proxy to quantify the value of the overall community, while this is not the case in Randpark Ridge. In fact, being inside the estate and working as a Pilates teacher or as a scrapbooking teacher means contributing to the well-being of the estate, and then offering a service to the overall community, whereas being a ballet teacher outside the estate means being involved in the broader community.

4.5 Status: being a normal family.

Joanna, the lady who tries to help me make contact with a couple in Dainfern³⁹, one of the oldest gated communities of Johannesburg explains the difference between living in a suburb and living in a prestigious gated community when she accompanies me to Dainfern: “Let’s go see how the other half lives!”, she says while driving out the driveway of her place in Greenside⁴⁰: this implies that we are going to dive into a different world. The long drive northwards really gives a sense of the changing environment: a world of Tuscan style complexes and a constellation of shopping centres open up along Jan Smuts Avenue first and then William Nicol Drive before reaching Dainfern. Joanna lives in an upmarket suburb, she owns a big freestanding house and the standard of her life is quite high. Yet she thinks of those living in Dainfern as the “other half”. Perceptions of difference are very big between residents of Eagle Canyon and of Northcliff and thanks to the experience with Joanna we can extend the thought to different suburbs and different estates. The northern suburbs are spaces in which the ideal of the fake and of the ostentatious manifest themselves to the extreme and also to the residents of Eagle Canyon, who neutralize the criticisms they receive by stressing their difference from the “real fake” of the northern suburbs. Dainfern⁴¹, according to the Dutch couple who moved to South Africa twenty years ago, is the best they could get.

“I have always felt that it was something new, from the beginning. Peace of mind, we really were out of the city. And now we even bought an apartment in a complex in Holland. We like the lifestyle. Someone fought against that, it is against our constitution. But we really have the feeling that we are living in a community. Everybody has the same experience, we are welcome there as part of the community in Holland. There are only two places in which you can live in Joburg, either Dainfern or Fourways Gardens⁴². Now we are going to Blair Athol⁴³. It is very indigenous and it suits our age...I feel that segregation is everywhere. But at the end of the day what are other people doing? Those that critique gated communities? What do they do? What is the responsibility? Sometimes I felt not good, having to deal with these differences here, but I like to

³⁹ While looking for an estate that would suit my study needs, I wandered through the northern suburbs of the city and visited a few estates. I have chosen to talk about Dainfern because it is the estate of reference, one of the first built in Johannesburg and the one that has set the standards for a long time.

⁴⁰ Greenside is an established suburb towards the northern suburbs. It is quite old and a quintessential free-standing-house suburb.

⁴¹ As I have said in the methodological chapter, in the initial phase of my research I considered conducting my research first.

⁴² Fourways Garden is the oldest estate in South Africa and it marked the establishment of the first HOA.

⁴³ Blair Athol is an equestrian estate on the way to North West province. It is new and still developing. It is an upmarket estate.

be here, and I wouldn't have come if we couldn't stay here. We have a segregated lifestyle, but I am happy I have lived here with young children. This is a very difficult society, it is not healthy to bring kids to shopping centres and then bring them in nature, better to have them play inside Dainfern."

This long extract of conversation exposes some of the questions on the kind of values that people in gated communities are thought to have. It equally tells why living on an estate is so appealing, and it is about the kind of life that one would like to have in South Africa, as "life is good here". According to the couple living in a very luxurious and exclusive estate in a country where the gap between the rich and the poor is very high, is not necessary a bad thing, because overall nothing could be done about it. The conversation also speaks to the fact that people get used to this kind of lifestyle and do not want to go back to a different one.

If the above discussion speaks to general ideas around estates, it is now important to look at Dainfern as it is an obsession for people living in the Eagle Canyon. As for spatial characteristics and position in the city (see Chapter 1) Dainfern is always the reference that the residents of the estate use to differentiate themselves from an unnatural world. Linda, who was born in Auckland Park and then moved to the west, three years ago bought a house in Eagle Canyon but due to financial problems she moved to Krugersdorp, farer west. Now she hopes to be able to come back to the Canyon. We meet at the Ladies Open Golf day in Eagle Canyon and we have a chat about my research and she lays out the position of the estate vis à vis the northern suburbs and the west, suggesting that Eagle Canyon is the in the middle, somehow it represents the norms:

"Are you also doing the white and black thing at all? I live in the west area and I have never heard of your type of research. I guess there is a different focus on the city: not Sandton or Town. This part is not acknowledged. There are many differences between the northern suburbs and the west. To me Sandton is much better off than the west. They are more aware of the world than the people in the west, here people are very content to be and it is not important for them to travel. People doing the same type of job will get more salary in Sandton. And now I am not talking about Eagle Canyon, I am talking about areas such as Krugersdorp. Here in Eagle Canyon is medium. It is the same thing between here and Durban. People from the west are not interested in seeing the world but they would be very happy to go to the same holiday place every year. In the west you will also see real poverty that was an eye opener for me. The very low whites...Children from the west are better managed than people from the north. People from the west try to restrict their children and to guide them, they are not spoiled. When you go to the churches, you won't find them in the north and there are less people inside. The people from the north question more, the people from the west accept."

Conversation with Linda
resident of Krugersdorp
October 12th, 2011

We have this conversation while we sit at the clubhouse of Eagle Canyon after the game, surrounded by other women that copiously drink wine, eat,

complain about the slow service and talk about holidays. They are all dressed in a fairly similar way, golfing style: pants or golf skirts, white shoes and heavy make-up, this is the outfit of golfers. Earrings and necklaces are the official adornment. Hair is done and a red-lipped smile is the introduction to any form of conversation. Linda's summary of the difference between the West Rand and the other northern suburbs is unexpected and revealing at the same time. She comes to the estate once a month to collect electricity and rent money and she hopes to be able to come back to her house soon. Although she was born in the central part of the city, at some point of her life she has been able to move into a wealthy area, Eagle Canyon, where she was staying for a few years before moving out to the west. Linda's description of the difference between the northern suburbs and the west is about the sobriety of the west as opposed to the extravagance of the northern suburbs which is expressed by "more better off", "know the world better" and being pretentious about things and travel. The west that Linda talks about is the far west, where some of the residents of Eagle Canyon come from and where they go on Sunday outings in the countryside. She talks about the estate as "medium", something not too extravagant, especially when compared with the northern suburbs. The lack of natural features of the northern suburbs, which have experienced a fast development of estates, complexes and shopping malls, make them fake and not natural. However what truly differentiates them from the rest of the city is the extreme wealth of some of the estates. Eagle Canyon presents itself as the black sheep of the west and as a compromise between the poor west and the northern suburbs: what makes it innovative is both the sobriety of the area and the fact that it hosts a first-world estate, two elements that come to constitute what will shortly will be elaborated on as normal.

The comparison of the west with the northern suburbs is not accidental. Sandton, the new financial hub of Johannesburg has gained importance in the city as soon as the city centre collapsed. It is lavish, it hosts an international community and it is the space of corporations, companies, luxurious hotels, bars and restaurants. Kenny Kunene for instance, one of the icon of the BEE scene, used to manage a famous club, the ZAR, in Rivonia, where he used to display R8000 bottles of champagne and eat sushi from naked waitresses. But Sandton is also close to Montecasino⁴⁴, the casino that reproduces a little Italian town. Sandton breaths an international air where: "kids come to school with drivers in a Ferrari who wait for them in front of the school for hours while they are busy sniffing cocaine in the bathroom of the school" (conversation with a teacher of a Sandton school). Seen from the west, a modest, middle class area where Linda has for the first time experienced the phenomenon of white poverty, Sandton is miles away. Linda is in the middle, she differentiates her world in the west from that of Sandton and Eagle Canyon, but she also downsizes the wealth, sumptuousness and pretentiousness of the estate vis a vis others of the northern suburb. Linda's position helps understand the position of many of the residents of Eagle Canyon, where they somehow feel in the middle, they are not poor, they are not extremely rich, but "we are just a normal family" (Elmine, market manager, 4th March 2011). Obviously, residents of Northcliff do not agree with

⁴⁴ For a critical piece on Montecasino see Mbembe (2008)

this idea: “we have different values, those in Eagle Canyon like to show off, they like to show what they have, this is why the houses are so sumptuous and even their kids, they go to school where they have fake values, they are just rich” (conversation with the Smith family, 15th May 2013).

All the different aspects elaborated in this chapter define the terms of the difference between the groups, yet both share the idea of being a “normal family” Table 6). Being a “normal family” means to the residents being able to declare a sort of normality, in the same way in which Linda has described Eagle Canyon as “medium”.

Table 6. *Families defines themselves as normal in both areas.
Being just a normal family*

Domestic Realm	Leisure Realm	Financial realm	Admitted Privilege
Taking kids to school	Eat at restaurants	Condition of struggle	Cheap Maid and workforce
Taking care of the kids	Preparing the Braai/ Party	Need to sell properties	
Going grocery shopping		Own properties	
Filing and organizing the house	Drink a glass or two	Have a few cars	
To value family	Sex	Need to work to afford the lifestyle	
	Pilates/scrapbooking	Need to follow rules	
	Going on holiday		
	Play golf	Need to pay taxes and fees	

The idea of being a normal family is based on the assumption that in the domestic, leisure and financial realms both groups lead ordinary lives. Taking kids to school is a great concern of women and the frustration about it is often described to other women during morning leisure activities such as Pilates or ballet. Having to organize the house, filing documents and going shopping are the daily actions that make families normal, according to most of the residents. The leisure sphere has been described in the previous paragraphs and most of the activities such as going on holidays and having fun are also considered to be just what people do. However what is mostly stressed by the residents is the normality in financial terms: “Yes, I am just an ordinary person, I don’t even have money for myself, I have two kids and they go to school, I have to pay school fees, recreational fees, health insure and my bond. I don’t have extra money. I am a ballet teacher and I try to do some painting to sell, even though I

am too proud and I am not always able to ask for money. But I really have no money. Sometimes I give a ride to this guy here (she is referring to the security guard of the Berario recreation centre)...one time I asked him how much he earns, he makes R3000 per month and I thought, oh my God he is very lucky. He told me he pays R1000 for rent, then he has to buy food and that is about it. He can even have pocket money, which I don't of course, he is lucky.” (Kariena, resident of Northcliff, 15th October 2012). In Eagle Canyon though, there are similar expressions such as: “We don't need a lot to live, we are just normal, we don't have a very big house and we need to live a simple life, we don't need more” (Candida, 5th May 2011). In the estate a display of normality is also expressed by talking about its outlook: “Eagle Canyon lately is disappointing, especially if looking at the wall” she says “it doesn't even look like we enter an exclusive estate from the outside” (Sarah, fieldnote 2/04/2012). Sarah and Candida try to show the normality of their homes by stressing that overall it is not true that everything is excessive. But they do admit to the privilege of having access to cheap domestic work often described with expressions such as: “there is something different with Europe and that makes the lifestyle better, cheap maids, gardeners and so on” (Luca, resident of Eagle Canyon, 12th June 2011), the idea of being a normal family in a normal community is about justifying wealth and the entitlement to this lifestyle on the basis of their “worth”. Being a normal family embodies the entitlement of living in such a way, it is a way of justifying the lifestyle and to lessen the guilt of living in such a way. In the context of great inequalities and divide in South African society, the idea of being a normal family serves as the measure of justification for what has been achieved without looking at how it has been achieved both in Northcliff and in Eagle Canyon.

4.6. Sewing the thread: the worth of the community.

In this chapter I have shed some light on the concept of community that is obsessively employed by many of the stakeholders when talking about gated communities and suburbs. I have argued that what really matters to the two groups is being considered “worthy” and “better”. In a sort of a constant but sometimes silent competition the two groups describe and value each other according to parameters and values that are intrinsically connected to contemporary South Africa. In the course of the chapter I have critically interrogated the parameters according to which each community is perceived as better than the other. In so doing I have addressed both the role of institutions in creating community and the reactions of the residents in meeting the implications of the institutions and in contrasting them. I have shown that eventually the “worth” of the community is about being accepted as eligible and a fitting presence in South Africa. This has different manifestations in the two areas. For the open suburb it is about being established, real, homogeneous and sober while for Eagle Canyon it is about being real but induced by marketing forces (see branding community); new but also carrying old values; as leisure but also as leisure as commitment to building a nice environment. The estate presents itself as a product in which the “worthy” community is more likely to

establish itself. However, there is a common sense of being just a normal family. In the attempt to find a way to fit into the changing South African society and having to deal with increasing inequality, being a “just a normal family” is what allows residents of the two areas to live a tranquil and leisurely life. The community is then an instrumental tool to find a space in contemporary society. This way they are able to construct a benign sense of the trajectories of self, in opposition to other places and groups outside, while ignoring the system that has built these social polarities in the first place. The “worth” of the community is thus linked to the ways in which residents of the two areas fit into the new South Africa. This is a first step to understanding that the physical isolation of golf estates does not necessary produce a way

The next chapter is going to address the way in which these communities come together, how they are managed and how they find a place in contemporary South Africa.

5.

Chapter Five

Creating the good bubble: separation and inclusion as intertwined consequences of the good administration

Having illustrated what kind of idea of the city the golf estate provides in terms of physical characteristics and thus what kind of movement it facilitates and what kind of geography of the city it produces and institutionalizes as safe (introducing the notion of the neutral modern space), the analysis of the system created has emphasised the notion of community. The previous chapter has investigated the notion of community and has shown that the difference at stake between the two areas is associated with the question of the “worth”. I have contrasted the ideas of worth in the suburb and on the golf estate concluding that there is an intricate relationship between the two and that the administration of the golf estate plays a pivotal role in indicating what is the right way to manage the space.

The present chapter investigates the functioning of the administration of the golf estate and of the suburb and it contends that, looking at the relationship between these two sites through the analysis of the relevant institutions they reveal that questions of belonging and “love for the country” are strictly entrenched with those of management and administration of spaces. This chapter interrogates the role of management and institutions in creating the administrative standard of the good life in the country, and by implication the level of “love for the country” and its terms. In Chapter 2 I discussed how from a rational choice perspective the gated community is a market-driven solution and that it is considered a “good club” of which individuals aspire to be part through the ownership of a property. If, though, rational choice explains the material implications of the choice of living in a gated community, the symbolic implications are not addressed.

The golf estate aspires to be independent from the rest of the city to maintain its efficiency but at the same time, wants to be acknowledged as part of the city and the nation. Its management (equal to that of a company) is excellent and efficient and this is possible thanks to a high level of compliance to rules and regulations by the residents. This is facilitated by the nature of the space (confined), the nature of the community (as leisure or as commitment) and the meticulous organization put in place to manage the internal community and its institutional relationships with the outside. On the other hand the suburb is not able to accomplish full efficiency due to its less formal organization and its deeper subordination to local municipalities. This creates antagonism between the suburb and the golf estate. Literature on gated communities and private urban governance refers to this difference as to “retreat” of gated communities from the state in order to accomplish more autonomy. It would be a mistake to take a simplistic view of these estates as sites of retreat thanks to the action of the wall (Beuka, 2003; Hook & Vrdoljak 2002), and as sites of romantic communal living. This chapter interrogates the role of the management in creating both the good life and a site in which the separation provided by the

wall is restored by the feeling it creates of belonging to the country. In this chapter I challenge the notion of gated estates as bubbles and separated spaces. If, as Nezer and Roy (2006) argue, gated estates are the manifestation of medieval modernity (same institutions as the Middle Ages), it is also true that these places are entrenched and intertwined in broader societal dynamics and cannot only be considered a state within the state.

I argue that the estate shifts from being a mere bubble and separated space to a place that represents a sense of belonging and national commitment to the country. Conducting a meticulous analysis of the organization of the two suburbs I explore how the role of the institutions in creating the “good bubble” is also responsible for providing a space in which residents can express their “love for the country”. I argue that the separate good administration of the estate provides the means of inclusion in the country for the residents of the estate. In exploring how the management of the estate creates this good administration I point out that the final product is the result of a series of procedures that involve both the residents and the internal bodies of the estate. This is possible thanks to the common interest of the residents and the incredible number of rules and regulations provided by the estate. The main difference between the estate and the suburb is the absence of the HOA in the suburb, which creates a statutory contract among the residents. Despite internal frictions, the HOA creates a “neutral framework” (Kymlicka 1989) in which all residents feel entitled to the same “good bubble”, thus they perceive and live the democratic experience despite internal frictions. I detail how the estate is able to maintain its perfect organization by the residents abiding with the rules and how it might seem that this creates separation from the outside. But also, on the other hand, how it also reproduces the perfection that was experienced during apartheid, in which separation was one of the necessary conditions to the achievement of this perfection. In this section I look at the kind of social contract that is created on the estate and how it differs from that of the suburb where the lack of a comprehensive management system does not give the feeling of being in a bubble, but rather that of being “left out”, as the ward councillor Reinten points out.

I then detail how these two types of organizations match and create different needs. This will be done by looking at examples inherent in the various service delivery crises. In this section I start differentiating between the estate as a separated system and residents as living in a bubble. Thanks to this comparison, while it is clear that the estate needs to have a partnership with municipal institutions in order to survive and provide good service to the residents (water and electricity are not privately provided, as it is the case in other estates), it also becomes clear that the residents of the estate use the HOA as mediator to interact with the local municipality. I also show how the main difference between the two areas is the network of contacts, since the residents of Northcliff also rely on mediators to solve their problems of service delivery. I argue that it is not only the estate that creates different needs and requests, but that it somehow reproduces the same attitude that suburban citizens have vis à vis the local municipality.

The two final sections discuss the material and the symbolic implications of these organizations. As a way of explaining some of the material differences I

will show the role of the HOA in adding value to the properties of the estate. I do so by analysing the role of the multiple contracts between individuals, the state, private companies and the HOA in creating a desirable space to live and in providing a good investment. This last point shows how questions discussed so far on landscape, community and memory are part of the investment. However the symbolic implication is more compelling as it talks to the inclusive effect of the estate and of how it represents a different level of belonging to the nation. I will then proceed to show some of the connections of the HOA to other institutions, namely SALGA and the local municipalities. Finally I will tackle the question of increasing a sense of belonging, where attachment to the suburb, to the city and to the nation will be discussed and it will be argued that “the wall” enhances its relevance when a defined legal and regulatory system is attached to it, especially in high-class gated estates. It will be argued that on the golf estate in question new spatial and social communities are characterized by a strong feeling of belonging to the nation but not to the city, that is a strong form of nationalism and loyalty to the country is expressed. Alternatively in the old suburb, residents feel that they live in the real world and that they are an integral part of the city. Looking at Johannesburg following a relational and comparative perspective, the meaning and the terms of belonging to the suburb, to the city and to the nation will be uncovered and compared with the notion of retreat: new forms of community emerge as the result of constant negotiation of identity informed by the symbolic and administrative strata of the inhabited space. The examples of the Census will detail how this mechanism of belonging plays out, stressing how the HOA is the mediator but not responsible for many of the issues. In this way it creates a different feeling, a retreat from the ordinary problems experienced by living in South Africa.

In this chapter I continue to argue that the golf estate presents itself as a good place to live, by virtue of its efficient management, and that it creates different implications (material and symbolic), always looking at the idea of entitlement to the good life. The estate not only replicates the idea of the garden city, but also the type of administration, which was not fully developed at the beginning of the century when the suburb of Northcliff was founded.

5.1. Longing for perfection: efficiency and standards

While as Steyn and Foster (2007) suggests it is now almost a joke for white South A

fricans to say that they have always been against apartheid, or that they were not aware of it (2012); what is not forgotten and still desired is the feeling of perfection, efficiency and order that most white South Africans experienced during the period of apartheid. Declarations such as “everything used to be perfect” or “it was safe here and we could go around by bus” or “there was no corruption back then” are to be heard daily in white South African spaces, be it in an old style suburb such as Northcliff or the newly conceived Eagle Canyon Estate. Separate development has been the dominant ideology in the country and until 1994 South Africa had separate institutions that in the eyes of the white population not only conformed to European standards, but also provided

excellent state services free from corruption, a highly efficient state machine based on a fully working tax system. The ideology of separation and the effective creation of a space in which service delivery to the residents was based on full control and efficiency, resonated greatly with the idea of a European administration and type of work: “Gradual withdrawal of Native labour should ... be correlated with substitution of even more efficient European and mechanized labour” (Fagan Commission cited in Posel, 2003, p. 212). South Africa during apartheid was indeed a country for white citizens, efficient and seen to be free from corruption⁴⁵.

In the process of transformation, the New Public Management⁴⁶ has brought not only a new racial connotation to public service, but a new bureaucratic system along the following lines: “We [the National Liberation Movement] have inherited a state which was illegitimate and structured to serve the interests of a white minority. [...] To attain all these and other objectives, it became the seedbed of corruption and criminal activity both within the country and abroad. [...] The NLM cannot therefore lay hands on the apartheid state machinery and hope to use it to realise its aims. The apartheid state has to be destroyed in a process of fundamental transformation. The new state should be, by definition, the antithesis of the apartheid state” (ANC 1998, cited in Chipkin 2012, p. 8). The ANC government has made it clear that it was the corruption of the apartheid state, white and Afrikaans led, that had to be overcome and with it its institutions, Transformation of the state thus required “extending the power of the NLM over all levers of power: the army, the police, the bureaucracy, intelligence structures, the judiciary, parastatals, and agencies such as regulatory bodies, the public broadcaster, the central bank and so on” (ANC 1998, cited in Chipkin, 2012, p. 8). There is a very interesting aspect here from the perspective of white South Africans living in the post-apartheid country, which is the idea of having lost the country’s good management to the benefit of a corrupted and inefficient one that does not make them a priority. From this view point, state levels are given African characteristics: “we are corrupted here”, while the European style management, that of the apartheid, was free of these problems. Gated estates now aspire to represent the world-class city and the ideal of what a European service might mean in terms of the precision, meticulous administration and efficiency of the apartheid state, something that is now lost in the open suburbs. At first sight, it might mean that separate development is recreated, by configuring the gated estate as a bubble and contrasting it with the suburb.

⁴⁵ This assertion is obviously not an absolute one. There is no evidence that the apartheid state was free of corruption. However, by virtue of the fact that most white citizens did benefit by good service, the problem of corruption was not considered a relevant one.

⁴⁶ For an overview of the role of the New Public Management and public sector reform see Chipkin and Lipietz (2012).

5.1.1. The (e)state machine: separated administrative praxis as a form of providing perfection

The notion here is – Residential Estate leaders and managers MUST become informed and stay informed, before a highly curious and informed resident does.

ARC 2008

The above quote points to the importance that is placed on the quality of the management of estates, in order to face anything that might be raised by “informed” residents. Much effort is put into the management of the social and administrative life of the estates in order to guarantee a perfect service to the residents. ARC⁴⁷ is the Association of Residential Communities, a national association that provides support to estate managers in South Africa following the example of the Community Associations Institute of the USA. The main aim of the association is to create a network of estate managers that would be able to assist each other in creating a set of standard procedures to face the same problems they might experience with a coherent schema of reference. These problems could be internal to the estate or linked to the partnership with the municipalities. The relevance of this association is twofold: it speaks to the increasing importance of this kind of habitation in South Africa and it addresses the need of being able to deal with the same issues in the same way. The necessity of this network stems from the actual lack of a comprehensive regulative act over the HOA, which is a novelty in the South African context. The Home Owners Association represents the owners of free standing houses and full title ownership, but it is not a government act and its governance is not yet fully regulated. In many estates in the country, Eagle Canyon being an example, sectional title and full title co-exist in the same space and the legal aspect of this relationship is quite controversial. The body corporate represents the residents of the sectional title complexes, but at the same time it is not legally clear if these complexes should count as one member of the HOA or if all the residents of the complex, represented and governed by the body corporate, have a separate vote at the HOA. Gilmour explains that:

“Home Owners Association equals freehold, in other words I own my stand, I own my walls if I’ve got walls. I own it, it’s all mine, the golf course and the parks I don’t own it, it will be pegged out and I buy that then its free title. I’m responsible for everything, my swimming pool. It’s governed by the company’s act which is not an act of parliament, it’s a national act. A body corporate is sectional title, so what does that mean, there’s a complex and there’s sections in that complex. You don’t own anything. The ownership of the land is joint; every one of them owns that land. There’s three forms so if you take the wall of a sectional title, the outside of the wall belongs to the body corporate, the inside of the wall belongs to you...Here the insurance is part of your levy, so my title is

⁴⁷ The president of ARC stresses the importance of becoming a member of the association as the HOA is not regulated by a government act. Being a member of the ARC allows the HOA to be part of a network that helps create standards and solves problems.

over a section only and my section is defined and my levy is paid according to the size of my section. In free holds levy is the same you have got small home or a big home or a round home or a square home, you all pay the same.”

Interview with Gilmour
November 24th, 2012

Chipkin, discussing the role of the body corporate in shaping social contracts and relationships asks the question: “From a rational choice perspective the central economic and legal problem arising is this: how can the conflicting preferences and actions of co-owners be coordinated so that some owners do not invest in their own properties in a way that imposes costs on their co-owners and/or underinvest in projects whose benefits are shared with others? (Tracht, p. 63, in Chipkin 2012, p. 18). The answer is to be found in the action of the body corporate, the entity all residents of complexes are member of and that has the authority to implement rules and regulations in order to maintain the relations between residents themselves, residents and the body corporate and finally with the broader organization of the estate, the HOA. In Eagle Canyon there are six of these complexes⁴⁸, with a total of 381 units. The different body corporates have internal rules and regulations and the residents are bound by these rules as well as those of the HOA. Residents moving into complexes inside the estate sign a double pact, one with the body corporate and one with the HOA, and they agree to the rules and regulations of both. The body corporate is elected through general meetings (not well attended) and it is expected to take decisions to the benefit of the owners, while the board committee is elected by all the residents of the estate. Whilst, residents of free holds only sign rules and regulations of the estate, they are also statutory members, as they are full owners of their property. The levies that all residents pay to the HOA are used to maintain spaces such as internal roads, dams and the golf course. The HOA is bound by a company act and in most cases is a non-profit organization. Thus levies and fines need to be reinvested for the well-being of the estate. The agreement among these residents is not as strict as that of the body corporate, as there is no shared ownership. However, the feeling of oppression, tight and severe control is widespread among all of the residents, producing a contradictory demand for high performance and at the same time demand for freedom. High performance is seen as the idea of a democratic site where everyone has access to good service, even if the way the service is implemented is not always appreciated. The HOA has got a multifaceted mandate: “The main duties of the HOA are administrative (making sure the levies and services are managed properly); financial (cash flows, costs and expenses and capital projects); legal (ensuring that all activities and services rendered are within legal bounds); and social (all communal social activity arranged enhance the general well-being of all residents/homeowners)” (email communication with Chairman S. Wolfe-Coote, February 19, 2012), and for this reason its internal apparatus is sophisticated and often residents are unaware of what is involved.

Eagle Canyon as an organisation is still establishing itself: this is why the management undertakes research on the state of the estate and compiles reports on the security and on the level of satisfaction of the residents. In fact, according

⁴⁸ All of the complexes are given exotic names such as Italian words and places, Moroccan references and exotic birds

to the chair of the board committee, the estate is undergoing an important shift to a less bureaucratic approach:

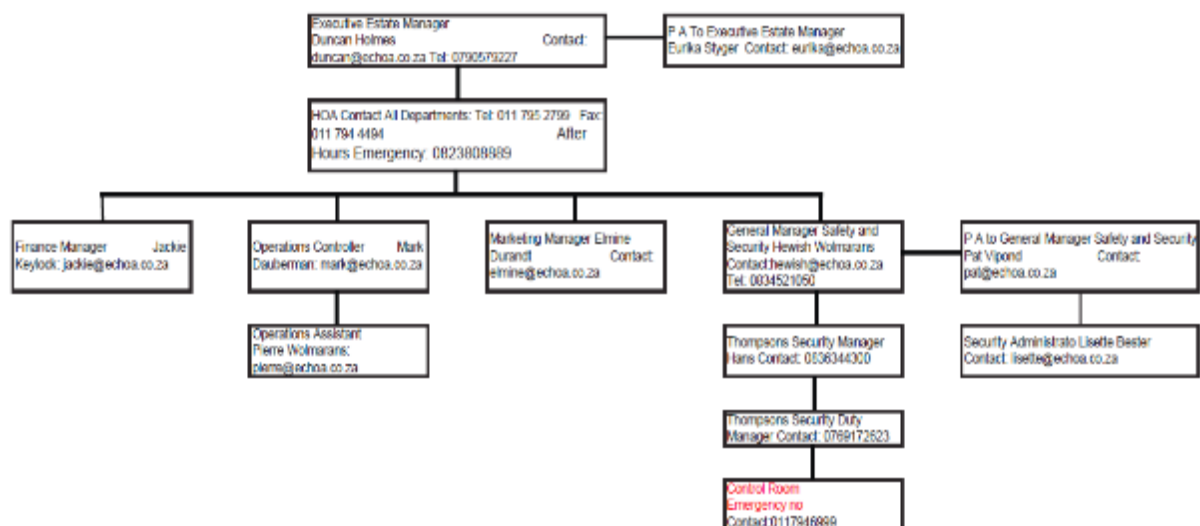
“During the early development phase, the HOA role needs to be more compliance orientated where the rules and regulations are strictly adhered to and it is common cause among residents and homeowners what is acceptable and what is not in the day-to-day living and interaction among stakeholders viz the developer, the HOA administration, the residents/homeowners, our suppliers and service providers, etc. Once this phase is complete (usually around the time of the completion of the building process within the estate) the HOA needs to become more accommodating and flexible with residents/homeowners, i.e. things are more settled, everyone knows and understands the rules and what activity is reasonable and what is not. So in my opinion the HOA needs to therefore change to become more accommodating and accepting (within reason of course) of the residents/homeowners needs/rights/obligations towards each other.

S. Wolfe-Coote
email communication,
February 19th, 2012

This type of commentary raises the question around the kind of system created by the HOA, and what are the expectations of the residents of the estate. According to the Smith family, residents of the estate until December 2011, the move out of the estate was from the “external system” to the “internal system” (personal communication, May 20, 2011). The internal system refers to the complex organization of the estate, which gives a sense of organizational detachment from the outside; it is a system that deals with all aspects of life (sociability, amenity, safety and security, surrounding environment) in an ordered, organized and normative way.

The managers of the HOA work to secure such an environment. The executive manager coordinates the other managers, as Figure 15 shows, and the security apparatus is the most articulated one, as the general security manager not only cooperates with the other managers, but also with the private security company employed, which is responsible for the control room, entrance and gates.

Figure 15. Home Owners Association Administration structure and contacts



While the HOA works, a sentiment of animosity is usually expressed by the different body corporates, who see their condition as extremely dominated by a management that privileges the owners of free-standing houses. The relationship between the two is controversial in many different ways. Firstly, there is a question of status and material difference based on a power struggle as to who is more influential in defining the rules⁴⁹. Secondly, the social and racial composition of the managers and board committee directors of the HOA also represents a challenge. ARC has conducted a survey of the estate industry in the country: 88.9% of estate managers are male and only 38% owns a diploma, most of them have had experience in management for seven years (25.7%), and more than 50% per cent of the managers have previous experience in the fields of security, military, hospitality. The directors and managers of the estate are the ones who moved in at the beginning of the construction and who have taken over the administration and who know the history of the estate. Most of them are Afrikaans males that run their business from home inside the estate. This seems to suggest that racial, social and status characteristics are crucial to the understanding of how the rules are made and implemented. As the ANC saw in the apartheid apparatus a state devoted to the interest of a white minority, in Eagle Canyon, many residents see the management as representing a group interest. The Smith family, moving out of the estates declared: “Being a member of the body corporate was extremely stressful. I am happy now, I have no responsibilities if not my own house. The estate was corrupted, there was politics involved and I don’t like politics.” (Conversation with the Smith Family)

The following boxes detail the organization of the estate, outline the main issues faced and how they are solved.

⁴⁹ In Eagle Canyon there has been a legal fight between a resident of one of the complexes and the HOA. The balance of power was leaning towards the HOA, who was treating the complex as one resident in the AGMs. The HOA wants to preserve its power vis a vis the complexes under its jurisdiction and it seems that it does this to maintain its majority in the estate, fearing a downward mobility in the status if the complexes were to take over the HOA.

Box 1. *Fieldnote Managers Meeting*

Managers Meeting 10/05/2011

The setting of the managers meeting is always the same. The managers gather around a table at the clubhouse. They are offered sandwiches and drinks. They are equally split between men and women. The meeting runs for about an hour.

The agenda of the meeting:

Security: need to upgrade security, fix cameras and buy new ones. Check entry codes and search workers that leave the estate;

Maintenance issues to solve, such as fixing the veranda of the clubhouse and buying new curtains;

Disciplinary with cleaners that have stolen something (Note: these people are educated to be stupid);

Communication: Facebook page for the estate;

Look for a better cleaning option as the current situation is too expensive;

Report on the success of the Monthly Draw;

Solving the problem of the vote: staff must be allowed to vote. Note (the finance manager says that she has tried to convince her maid to vote for DA, but she can't understand).

Look for sponsor for the Golf Day: need to involve residents that have businesses and want to become more visible by sponsoring events.

Problems with Caddies: they transport up to 5 kids in the golf cart and it becomes dangerous. The security needs to be called. The marketing manager raises the issue: "if I tell the caddies not to carry 5 kids they swear at me"; Duncan, the general manager, responds: "you are a manager, they are just employers, if they swear they will go through disciplinary".

Box 2: *Fieldnote Board Committee Meeting*

Board Committee Meeting 6/09/2011

The board committee meets once per month. All the 7 committee members attend, plus the general manager, the security manager.

High level of frustration

Need to discuss director's interests and conflict of interests

Security:

Stand xxx issue with barking dogs. A legal route to remove the dogs need to be taken as the owner does not comply to the rules and does not pay penalties.

Problems with Thompson private security company

Alleged housebreaking in the estate: the issue does not need to be advertised

The club has banned Mr. Y as he was always drunk and harasses other patrons (Mr. Y. is black and special attention needs to be put in order not to turn the matter into a racial issue)

Some of the residents don't follow the rules but we don't want to turn into a police state

Speed bumps: they didn't solve the speeding problem. Need to hear from the community what they feel.

Landscape:

Stand n. xxx people don't like the house and they have complained, but it conforms to the rules.

There is a balcony over the top of the swimming pool. A petition has been sent to the architect to check if it conforms to the rules. However, the neighbours complain about the blocked view.

Discussion over the AGM (resolution for building penalties, 60.000Rands). The members have to allow the board to take reserve money. The HOA is paying for the Clubhouse cash. It needs money from the residents

New club manager and club special levy

Car wash and pro-shop are completed for better service

SARS: what part of the levy is taxable and what is not? Building penalties are not levy so they don't need to be taxed.

New arrangement needed for buyers of houses by the golf course, it is their responsibility to fix windows broken by golf balls.

Discuss the extra-development of the boundary.

Community living: need to adopt a charter with values and community minded approach

A resident wants to know about the stipend of the general manager: the board committee decides against revealing it.

Box 3: *Fieldonte Body Corporate meeting*

Lakeside Village Body Corporate Meeting 10/08/2011

6 people attend. 1 woman and 5 men, plus the security manager.

Problems with parking spots: some residents do not respect them
Landscaping

Air conditioner has been approved provided that the neighbour agrees
Unit x has building alterations: they want to put pillars and remove the chimney: need to be approved by an engineer and once is done the Estate is not liable anymore.

Need to update the website with rules and regulations of the Lakeside complex
Problems with electricity: someone steals electricity and the HOA has been notified about it, however the body corporate is not liable about this: the chair of the meeting suggests to organize a meeting between the two families to clarify the matter.
How to dialogue with City Power: who is the delegate?

Finance: Mr X does not keep up with his payments. He needs to be warned and maybe excluded

Communication

Need to make better communication about updates and painting as residents will have to open their garages

Need to notify an Indian lady about her behaviour: she doesn't look after kids that play at other's residents private swimming pools.

The three boxes show the usual pattern of the three kinds of meetings happening in the estate in order to keep it running. The concerns and the issues faced by three different bodies are very similar, however each of them has a different capacity and responsibility. The managers are responsible for any ordinary administration and they meet weekly. The homeowners associations employ them and they follow their directions. The board of committee meets on a monthly basis and it is the core entity of the estate, as both managers and body corporates refer to it. Its duty is that of giving direction to the estate, the members are legally liable for anything that might happen. Finally the different bodies corporate also meet on a monthly basis and deal with the issues of the different complexes. As the boxes show, security, service delivery, communication, landscape and following rules and regulations are the main issues covered during the meetings. It is worth considering the role of the rules and regulations, in order to both define how the estate functions and how acceptable the rules are as part of a process building the "good bubble". Generally, ARC's survey reveals that 91% of the estates have a high level of compliance to corporate government and that 72% of the estates declare a level of compliance to rules by the residents as above average. However in Eagle Canyon residents do not always follow rules and the system of fines is often

contested. Upon arrival at the gates of the estate the security guard hands to the visitor a memo notifying them about the speed limit of the estate (40 km). In case of non-compliance to the rule the fine will be debited to the account of the owner visited. If non-compliance to the speed limit is by the owner, he knows that he will pay the fine together with the monthly levy. The fining system is extremely well organized, residents pay their fines with their levies, and it is a source of income for the homeowners association. Residents have mixed feelings about this as they believe that good governance is necessary but discriminatory at the same time: “clearly, it depends on who you know, if you are friends with them or if you go and complain there, there are high chances your fine will be removed” (Josephine, resident of Eagle Canyon, 3rd May 2011). When signing a lease contract or buying a property rules and regulations are provided with the contract; these are rules about conduct, common sense, neighbourhood, speeding, construction time, landscape and use of parks (see Appendix A). Residents do not always abide by the rules which sometimes they think are absurd. Business for example is not supposed to be run from home unless by previous authorization from the HOA, yet many residents decide to break this rule as it has now become common practice to have a business at home (it suffices to consider the myriad Pilates or scrapbooking classes, as well as other company business run from home).

The rules and their enforcement on the estate resonate with the authoritarian system of the townhouse complexes described by Chipkin (2012). Residents accept the rules, but as with the creation of community, often these are contested. First of all many of the rules are thought to be for the benefit of some, whilst at the same time,, paying levies seems to be the main duty of the residents, as levies create the funds to help run the estate. The apathy described towards the social life is similar to the one associated with the interest in the organization of the estate, nevertheless “perfection” in the way the estate is run is demanded and expected.

The social contract among the residents is then enforced and adopted by a group of individuals that orchestrate the rules and regulations but this group, in the eyes of the residents is seen to be corrupted for imposing such strictness. However, the perfect administration is appreciated as one which is efficient; where there is little bureaucratic hindrance and equity is guaranteed, as opposed to what happens outside. Chapter 3 has outlined how gated communities and sectional titles complexes are part of a bigger process of city planning. The system enforced in the estate seems to be a system on its own. Yet, according to the residents, the alleged bubble starts reproducing dynamics of corruption and favouritism, as the unequal payment of fine suggests. Interestingly these are more accepted than the corruption and bad governance of the new government: “our government is corrupted, here we get a better treatment, we know we would not be able to live in such good conditions outside, they say it is a democracy, but what democracy is that? Here we have our problems, but at least we get good service and we are safe” (conversation with Sarah, resident of Eagle Canyon, 25th August 2011).

The comments on the bad state of the democratic process outside the estate as opposed to the better environment inside it is emphasized by the comment of the councillor of Ward 89, Jaco Engelbrecht from the Democratic Alliance. The councillor is happy that the estate somehow contributes to creating its own labour opportunities, its own economies, its own income; he is happy with developers of the estates as they contribute to building infrastructure, roads

lights and sewage; he is finally happy because he can deal directly with the HOA in order to reach all the residents of the areas. Yet, his role as councillor sees him distanced from the requests of the estate as an organization, as he sees the apparatus independent enough to deal with any issue. The management of the estate is officially apolitical, it tries to co-operate directly with the city rather than with the ward councillors, who themselves feel left out by the city.

5.1.2. Suburban system: outside of the estate.

Northcliff is different from Eagle Canyon, in that it does not benefit from a comprehensive management that regulates the residents directly. As a consequence, the residents feel indifferent about the organization and perfection of the environment in which they live. Northcliff is one of the few suburbs of Johannesburg where no resident association has been established. Councillor Brugman notes that in the last fifteen years the suburb has lost its energy and it has conformed to a system of apathy⁵⁰: “My colleagues and I tried over the years to restart it for the residents, the residents have to do it. I have got a very good one just across the road here from Risidale, I have got a very good one in Emmarentia and in some other areas there are smaller ones. So that is fine, I think the smaller the better” (councillor of Ward 88, 12th December 2012). If not motivated by a strong common interest, residents associations are not extremely vibrant in Johannesburg suburbs. The area under review belongs to two different wards and despite the same political affiliation (the councillors elected are from the Democratic Alliance), the two councillors have different ideas on residents associations. While Brugman claims that it is not her duty to promote associations, Ingrid Reinten from Ward 89 tries to promote them so that communication with residents is facilitated and she can have designated representatives to deal with instead of making incessant phone calls to many different residents. The suburb of Northcliff, similar to many others, does not have a comprehensive management structure, something that might be called a full package as the one provided to the residents of Eagle Canyon. The social ties are then different and not regulated by an external entity. The ward councillors seem to become the main reference, because they are easily reachable and accountable. The two councillors of Northcliff represent two different approaches to the management of the suburb. Ingrid Reinten aspires to create a self-regulated space in which all actors co-operate and she has got views on broader city management. Meanwhile she hopes that residents start contacting the city directly for any issue:

“The council has become the call centres because the call centre is getting better but in a couple, two years ago when nobody was answering calls or they were taking long, nothing, people weren’t responding, people would take so long to report. When I now say to a resident to call the Joburg call centre the immediate

⁵⁰ The lack of residents associations in Northcliff is peculiar and interesting at the same time. Similar suburbs such as Parkview, Emmarentia, Linden and Parktown have such associations and they are quite active. These are mostly interested in revitalizing the suburb by organizing social and cultural activities and upholding their heritage.

reaction is it takes too long nobody listens anyway because people have that perception in their head. It's not true, I phone it on a regular basis and it does work but you've just got to be a little patient and it is getting better."

Interview with Reinten, Councillor of Ward 89
November 19th, 2012

Reinten also wishes that the city itself would become proactive in understanding the needs of the residents and she believes in facilitating the communication between the two. On the contrary Brugman takes her duty as that of a mere reference for the residents, but she does not see the transformative possibilities in her position, she does not think that a stronger participation of the residents might improve the administration of the city. Interestingly these two views do not have different outcomes. Only a handful of residents are involved in associations and activities to the benefit of the suburb and these are especially interested in safety questions, thus they are connected to the Community Policing Forum (see Chapter Six) and occasionally to private security companies that operate with the police station. In the suburb the various associations, be they private or public, do not work in an organic fashion and it is the mission of the councillor Reinten to promote this kind of network. However a few issues arise:

Firstly, the residents' associations are not statutory bodies, thus not regulated by a law, and according to Reinten this is one of the main problems linked to the lack of contact between the councillors and the municipality, she laments that: "what happens now is that we gather plenty information but local municipality doesn't listen to it. Our democracy is based on public participation, it sounds nice but it doesn't do it. We can choose not to have an RA, but if do we must be taken serious" (12th April 2012). On the other hand residents do not see the importance of being active in the suburb. As noted in Chapter 4 many residents play golf, attend clubs and are involved in charity and this is part of the main social life of the residents, but not many are interested in the management of the suburb. Some commit their time to charity work (as described by Renata in the previous paragraph), while others commit to philanthropic activities, such as Rotary or Lions. These residents see their involvement as exhaustive and delegate the political activity to the councillors. However, the frustration from both the side of the residents and of the councillors stems from the memory of the past, in which everything in the suburb was considered perfect:

"Well, Johannesburg used to be a very well-run municipality up until... any date I give you would be unreliable, but I guess about 1970 or thereabouts. And then our previous bad government, the Nationalists, started damaging it. And in 1994 of course, we acquired a president, and a municipal government. Which I am happy to place on record, on your tape recorder, is the most dysfunctional organisation in South Africa."

Interview with Louis Breckenridge
resident of Northcliff
June 6th, 2012

Louis Breckendrige, member of the Lions Club of Randpark Ridge and active member of the Community Policing Forum, lives in a Northcliff house close to the ridge. While admiring his view from the garden and describing the suburb as a very attractive one for its natural look, he also remembers the times in which the city was well run as opposed to the current dysfunctional organisation. Talking about the past, he refers to a very important board acting in the suburb, the Peri Urban Health Board⁵¹:

L.B: When we lived here, it was dark at night; we were afraid to open the curtains because it was pitch black, and the local pharmacy, which used to keep schoolbooks and everything, he put up a neon sign, and there was a whole uproar about it! Nobody wanted a neon sign in our suburb. And I mean, look at it now: it's so commercial! It's sad in a way, you know? ...but there's another story told. There were no streetlights in this suburb when we arrived here.

I: No streetlights?

L.B: No street lights at all. We had a very much more, a very much more competent municipality at that stage. It was the Peri Urban. And the lights were put in by the municipality after the place became municipal. And the municipality did a survey. And when you spoke to people, nobody wanted streetlights. But when the municipal survey came out, 80 per cent of the people *did* want streetlights! And the streetlights were installed. .

Wife: But the people who, who used to run the refuse and everything... they collected the rubbish, you know..

L.B: Ja, Peri Urban was the area here. But it was the province; it wasn't the city here. It was an organisation that looks after houses between the province. I think it was called the Perry Urban Areas Health Board, but it was discontinued.

Wife: They were very good and if there was a piece of paper left in the street, you phoned. And they would say, right, they're coming to clean it up. You know how messy the streets are. But not then. I mean, you would phone him up and he'd say, I'm sending someone now to fix it. Straight away.

Interview with Louis Breckenridge
resident of Northcliff
June 6th, 2012

This interview confirms the feeling of perfection that existed in Northcliff in the Seventies and how it was linked to a better lifestyle. However, it equally shows the connection between the kind of management that residents in Northcliff used to experience with that of the contemporary Eagle Canyon experience. Northcliff was part of the Peri Urban Zone and only in the Fifties became part of the city. It was an area that needed to be developed and the Peri Urban Board had that function. In fact it had wide powers, almost comparable with those of the municipality as far as town planning, water, electricity and public health services were concerned (Carruthers 1981). The narration of

⁵¹ For an overview of the Peri Urban Health Board and the role that it played in Johannesburg see E.J. Carruthers (1981)

Breckenridge and his wife shows the admiration for the efficiency and fast service that they had. A similar account is provided by Councillor Ingrid:

“I remember when I was a kid and we used to live in Fairlains, my dad had a factory and we would have inspectors to check on what my father would do wrong and we would be fined. Now we don't have such thing. The municipality is not after us, and we as citizens have to actually notify the city for anything that is wrong.”

Interview with Ingrid, Ward 89 councillor
June 17th, 2013

Arguably, the lack of a comprehensive management of the suburb such as the one of the years of the Peri Urban Health Board has left many of the residents puzzled and disoriented in contemporary South Africa as no system is dedicated to boosting the well-being of the wealthy white suburbs. Residents accept it and tackle it as a dysfunctional and sometimes racist attitude of the new dispensation, however, the councillor of Ward 89 is up to fighting to get her voice heard:

“I need to know about things because I need to hold the city to account...Maybe there is not enough benefit, I'm hoping that if we actually had more benefit where the city would encourage and work more with JRA to do more within their areas, just like the mountain, we now trying to set up an echo park on my side of the mountain like they've done by the Northcliff water tower. That if the city would be willing to work with residence more and say we will give you a memorandum of understanding, *we know it's our property, we know we can't look after, please look after it, this is what we expect of you but we not going to penalise you, we not going to charge you money, we very grateful that you want to look after your areas, if there is more of that kind of agreement the resident know about it maybe then you will have more of a community feel*, the moment I just feel you know about three years ago they did those three scenarios of South Africa in the future the one is, the one is we walk together, one is one walks before the other one walk behind. It was like three scenarios that they planned for South Africa and my biggest fear is that we not working together as communities, as cities with the residence we all doing our own thing because *residents feel the city is not interested in them*, the city feels the residence aren't talking to each other and we not talking to each other to say look we all on the same boat, we all live where, we all want to have a great place to stay, let's all work together to make this a really great city ...*I just feel that there is, to be honest I think the city would quite happily ignore Ward 89 if they wanted to. If I didn't stand up and say, my roads not being fixed, if I was a councillor who sat* (my emphasis).

Interview with Ingrid
Ward 89 councillor
June 17th, 2013

Here the problem is not just that residents are not active, according to Ingrid something more serious goes on in the suburb, which is an attitude of

indifference from the city towards her ward. In the same fashion Eagle Canyon wants to cooperate with the city in order to gain more freedom, the councillor of the suburb would like to be able to look after the area according her standards. She has started the process of spreading news through websites and newsletters as there is no communication between her work and the city. The councillor indirectly speaks about the New Public Management and about her political opposition to the ruling party both of the country and of the city of Johannesburg. In this sense there is a connection between the councillors of the two areas under review, who belong to the same party and see in the city a common opposition. Here the white residents and councillor make an implicit reference to the white institutions of apartheid that were functioning (such as the Peri Urban Health Board), while denigrating the new ones.

The next section will explain how the different organizations of the two areas create different needs and how these function differently creating a bubble that exists both in the suburb and in the estate, even if different.

5.2 Forging new relationships lulled by the system: the service delivery crisis viewed from the “elite”

Having detailed the different organization of the two areas, I now proceed to discuss how the differences determine different needs of the residents and how, on the other hand, even when the needs and requests are the same, different institutions and relationships are called into question. The section will show how different relationships between the residents and institutions are forged, and how these are based on the assumption of bad governance of the municipality and thus how the trope of separation from the real society is lived differently in Eagle Canyon and in Northcliff.

In March 2011 the informal settlement of Zandspruit located 6km away from Eagle Canyon was on fire. Its residents protest and claim their rights to proper sanitation, water and electricity. Driving up Beyers Naude Drive the driver finds burning tyres in the middle of the road. Protests are about the absence of the councillor who ignores the demands of the residents of the informal settlement. In April 2011 a service delivery crisis affects Eagle Canyon as well, the SPA at the clubhouse has shut down as result of the transition of the clubhouse from the developer to the HOA⁵². Criticism around this matter has been widespread and loud: “we do pay levies and we don’t even have a SPA now. It is a matter of service delivery: the estate is not delivering. On top of this the service provided at the clubhouse is not up to standards. We don’t get what we pay for” (conversation with Johanna, 28th April 2011). In June 2012 the ward councillors of Northcliff declare that their main issue with service delivery is maintenance of the roads: “At the moment I think we have been a bit neglected with service delivery, the roads are in a very, very bad state” so declares

⁵² This transition is a natural one in new estates. Originally the developer builds everything, the clubhouse included, sets the land and establishes the HOA. Once the estate has reached a critical number of residents that pay levies, the HOA buys the facilities built by the developer and becomes the owner of them.

Councillor Brugman (12th Decembre 2012) and “the problem with my ward it, it’s a very high end ward, in other words the houses are very expensive, the people have high flying jobs, they work a lot of hours, they expect a lot, they pay high rates and taxes because they have large properties” (19th November 2011). Discussion over service delivery in the country is spatially construed, as the above account details. However, this does not only relate to the different service delivery that people expect and aspire to in order to live a decent life, it also speaks to the different reference points that residents have. This section reveals the needs and expectations of the residents of the estate, based on the assumption of a perfect management system. It reveals how the reference points for the resolution of the problems changes according to the organization of the area and how the HOA becomes the main reference for the residents of the estate. The HOA is then not only the main actor that solves the problems, but also the mediator between the residents and the municipality. In the suburb, not only do residents not have the same needs, but they also have a different reference point. In this section I explore how the HOA becomes the main mediator for the residents, but also how residents of Northcliff refer to mediators to solve their problems. Talking to the councillors and to the managers, the feeling is always the same: people want to be “nannied”.

Table 7. *Overview of services requested in the two areas and the relevant institutions called to deal with them*

Service requested	Eagle Canyon	Northcliff
SPA	Country Club→HOA	Private---NOT RELEVANT ISSUE
Clubhouse bar and restaurant	Country Club→HOA	Private---NOT RELEVANT ISSUE
Golf Course	Country Club→ HOA	Randpark Ridge Club---NOT RELEVANT ISSUE
Electricity (public and private light)	HOA→ Eskom	Ward Councillor → Telkom or Private Security Company→Telkom
Water	HOA (control room)→ Municipality	Ward Councillor→Municipality
Roads	HOA (control room)→Johannesburg Road Agency (JRC) if outside the estate and Security manager if inside the estate	Ward Councillor→Johannesburg Road Agency
Trash	HOA→Pickitup	Ward councillor→Pikitup or Private Security Company→Pikitup
Noise (barking dogs, loud music)	HOA→Security manager and control room	Ward Councillor or Private Security Company
Emergency on the road	Control Room	Private insurance
Security	HOA→Control Room→Private Security Company	Private Security Company→CPF (occasionally)

Table 7 shows that some concerns over service delivery are similar in the two areas, while others are peculiar to the estate. Basic needs such as water, electricity, good roads and trash collection are shared, while internal services to the estate such as the SPA, the quality of the golf course or that of the clubhouse are not relevant in the suburb. It is common to listen to description such as “this golf course is shocking” in Eagle Canyon so to prove that the estate is not putting enough effort into the well-being of the community (the integration of the golf course in the social estate system has been elaborated in Chapter 4). By contrast residents of Northcliff do not see the golf course or the country club as part of their home space or a space that represents themselves. Yet, as will be discussed in the next section the quality of the golf course and of its well-being relates to services in Eagle Canyon and are what maintains the quality of the estate and what maintains the high value of the properties, and thus the desirability and the good name of the estate. The following fieldnote reveals the importance of the internal leisure service at the clubhouse of the estate:

“The demand of a quick and service at the clubhouse for instance is expressed by John, one of the important residents of the estate because he is a golf player and wealthy, to the knowledge of almost everyone. John is a coloured man who has travelled extensively all over the world. He has visited more than 51 countries in 17 years and has worked for a while in Australia, but his love for South Africa has convinced him to buy a house in Eagle Canyon, by the golf course. While he sips whiskey at the clubhouse he asks the waiter to buy a packet of cigarettes for him, this, according to him, being part of the service. Unfortunately the waiter buys the wrong cigarettes at the vending machine: “you see, these people are stupid, they are stupid, they want to be modern, but they’d better remain traditional, they don’t even understand what we ask. I am not going to tip him, they must learn... You see South Africa is a good country, but sometimes we have stupid people. They must remain traditional, they don’t have to pretend to be modern, for me I have something for Africa. I make my own rules, I go shoot and eat.”

Fieldnote
May 12th, 2011

John exemplifies clearly and in a very direct way the feeling that most residents of the estate have and the idea of the internal service delivery that they expect. Firstly John talks about the expectations of being offered a wide range of services, such as buying cigarettes. Secondly, this also refers to the racial connotation ascribed to the quality of the service. Clearly, the Zimbabwean waiter⁵³ at the clubhouse knew nothing about the modernity of the estate and about the functioning of the vending machine, thus racial comments about backwardness of the African people; here the evocation might as well be extended to the functioning of the country at large, where the contemporary

⁵³ This thesis has not focused on the relation between workers and employers both in the estate and in the suburb. This is a crucial aspect in the history of South African race relations, however this is not the scope of this work.

government is not considered up to modern standards. Lastly, calling the manager to complain about the service, John has also fuelled a system of disciplinary hearings by which a crackdown on the staff takes place.

The HOA and the estate's control room act as referral points but in different ways. In Eagle Canyon for instance, if the car stops in the middle of the road it is safe to call the control room and ask for assistance rather than the HOA. The manager of Serengeti Estate in the east of Johannesburg states that the HOA facilitates some of the practices that might be daunting for the residents such as going to the post office. To help them she hands out all the forms, she contacts the public offices and she also archives all the documents for the residents. Some of them see the HOA as the institution to call in case of any problems. Again at Serengeti a lady, owner of the house, calls the HOA to ask "to be sent" someone to clean, as her "maid" was not working that day. The involvement of the HOA in residents' administrative and bureaucratic life is not yet standardized. Still, the frustration of being a nanny for the residents comes up, especially when talking about the dirt that they produce on the estate: "maybe people think that they are in a holiday resort", the manager of Serengeti says, echoing a truth and very vivid thoughts of many of the residents of estates in South Africa, that of being on holiday. However, it is true that even residents of Eagle Canyon would love to be able to demand and receive more from the HOA. The usual refrain would go: "we pay so much to live here, and we still have problems with electricity meters", or "we pay so much in rates and taxes and we don't get good service". The response of the HOA, especially in Eagle Canyon would be of detachment from these complains, as, they would argue, it is not in the competences of the organization to fix these problems. As a matter of fact though, despite asking the residents to be as independent as possible, the management of the estate tries to confirm its accountability by assisting them, especially when interacting with external entities. The following example is testimony of this.

Dear residents

The HOA has received a number of complaints from residents regarding noise disturbance from the night club in Blueberry Street. Our advice to the residents was to contact the SAPS to deal with this issue. The SAPS and various departments within would follow up with the complaint i.e. the application for a liquor license, entertainment license, etc. We are unable to approach the club and or the SAPS in a personal HOA capacity and in an endeavour to assist residents, security has suggested raising a petition for residents to sign. To facilitate a podium to lodge a bulk complaint to the authorities, we decided to do it in this format. If you wish to lodge an objection against OMG/Cantina Tequila in the centre next to our main gate in Blueberry Street, for whatever reason, please click on link below.

Email Communication
August 15th, 2011

In this case, the HOA has become the means through which the residents lodge their complaints about the noise of a club outside the estate. The residents, again, rely on this organization, to maximize their benefits.

Further to creating different needs, the management of the estate presents itself as the right mechanism to face daily and daunting problems in South Africa. Electricity is one of those. Both in 2011 and in 2012 Johannesburg did not experienced load-shedding, thus there has never been a need for calculated and controlled use of electricity. However, power failures are common, especially in wintertime. This is one of the most irritating experiences for residents that demand perfection and full efficiency.

“Today it was my first day in Eagle Canyon, my first night alone at home. The lady I live with is out for a couple of days. She reassured me and she said I don’t need to worry. But something strange happened. The electricity went off and I didn’t know what to do. I went out and I had the first encounter with my neighbour, a man from Limpopo. He was standing in front of his door, holding his baby. I asked if he knew what the matter was: I am going to check with the control room, I am sure they will give us answers.”

Fieldnote
Eagle Canyon
April 15th, 2011

The control room, representing the HOA and the immediate solution to any of the problems of the estate, is contacted for any problem that might happen within the estate. In the eyes of the residents, it is supposed to have comprehensive knowledge of any issue and to be prepared to contact external entities, such as Telkom in the case of electricity, and report on the issue. However, if this seems to show evidence of the separation from the outside and the manifestation of living in a bubble in which service is granted at any given time, the following experience with a power failure in Northcliff might challenge this idea:

“While getting back at my home in Berario/Northcliff, I see a Telkom car outside the gate as there is a power failure which has caused the phone not to work. The couple I live with is sitting at the patio and does not want to call the municipality to find out what is the matter. They complain about the fact that it is not winter yet and it is thus too early for an electricity shortage. They claim that they had not been notified. They are annoyed, but they don’t want to call anyone to clarify the matter, because they won’t be heard. While they sit, they complain about the service that the municipality offers...even Pikiup, look at those ladies that collect trash, they are so fat and they can’t even walk, how can they deliver service?”

Again, similarly to other experiences, the service delivery failure in Northcliff is seen as exemplification of the connection between the current government and the lack of service delivery. The lack of accountability⁵⁴

⁵⁴ For an overview on accountability and public service in South Africa, see Chipkin (2011) and Chipkin and Lieptiz (2012)

distances the residents from the offices responsible for those services, and while the reaction of the couple described above is of total disinterest and of disengagement, other residents of the open suburb adopt different strategies to see what the problem is:

“I would first check my own internal electric box and if that was alright I would check the whole house’s electric box at the bottom of the garden and if that is fine I would check the neighbours to see if their electricity is also out and if they are also out then I generally just wait. Sometimes I phone the municipality but it is just that you stay on the line for such a long time, it is quite frustrating.”

Interview with Josephine
resident of Northcliff
May 24th, 2012

As Josephine stresses, in case of a failure, the main contact is the neighbour, either done by the member of the family, or as this other resident explains:

“What I do is I send my servant to go and ask another servant, they will go and ask next door to see if it is the whole area, and if it is off for the whole area then there is nothing I can do about it so then, obviously, I don’t do any phoning or anything – it is a waste of time. If, on the other hand, it was my house only then I would phone up to see why my electricity was not working. You usually can’t get an answer. That is the biggest headache in this country, the inefficiency of the council and the crookedness. I mean the corruption is terrible in this country. Every single government department is corrupt.”

Interview with Ray White
resident of Northcliff
June 15th, 2012

Many of those interviewed in Northcliff rely on their own networks to face a power failure. The frustration of Josephine resonates with that of Councillor Reinten:

“The council has become the call centre... the call centre is getting better but two years ago when nobody was answering calls or they were taking long, nothing, people weren’t responding, people would take so long to report. When I now say to a resident people call the Joburg call centre the immediate reaction is it takes too long nobody listens anyway because people have that perception in their head. It’s not true, I phone it on a regular bases and it does work but you’ve just got to be a little patient and it is getting better... So that’s the biggest problem is convincing residence to use the cities processes so that they can report something and then pass on to me the information. They want to dump it on the councillor and the councillor needs to be the call centre.”

November 12th, 2012

Finally, interestingly, the manager of Beagle Watch, the private security company operating in Northcliff, declares that many of the calls that they receive are in case of power failures.

It is evident that none of the residents of the two areas think of contacting Eskom call centre and in Eagle Canyon the first and universal contact is the control room, while in Northcliff residents decide to contact either the neighbour, the ward councillor or the private security company. In this case all of the residents rely on a mediator in order to obtain information about the service. To reiterate this point Reinten states:

“If you look at Johannesburg and service delivery, pick it up and so on, not talking about service delivery, we are not like an informal settlement. People want to know whom to report problems to, before the call centre was not working, now it is better. The city was refusing to acknowledge that there was a problem, now residents don’t want to follow the rules. Actually a lot of things I cannot help, and represent 20 000 people. I always try to get back to the call centre. Now it is getting better. Cape Town does it and it decentralize it. We don’t have regional functions, but we need to decentralize. Take certificates, refunds regionally, billing. Decentralizing is a better managing structure. I can advise people what to do, get a reference number, if it doesn’t happen in a month or two, and I chase it. But we can’t do what the city is supposed to do. I try to go to the customer centre. I personally phone the call centre so that I can tell people to get a reference number. The city needs to get better in information, have a better system.”

April 2013

Dealing with the management of the service delivery system has been conducive to the understanding of the mechanisms through which different needs are created and solved. The separate management of the estate becomes only a further medium through which residents access the municipality and the public services. In the open suburb the councillor does this. The difference is that primary needs are fully covered inside the estate, but when it comes to electricity and water, the HOA tries to remove its responsibility from the problem even keeping its protective role: the HOA in this sense tries to provide tools to the residents in order for them to be able to solve their problems for themselves, even though it finally ends up solving any issue to the benefit of the well-being of the estate. In this sense the new social contract is with the HOA. The presence of the HOA definitely mediates the relationship between the residents and the various municipal entities. What is evident in fact is that the HOA downgrades the nature of the crisis. Living in Eagle Canyon the electricity crisis or the road crisis is buffered by the presence of this organization. It is something that people are aware of, but it does not affect them greatly. The service delivery crisis in Eagle Canyon is mostly linked to internal services. However, it is also important to note that residents of Northcliff equally rely on the action of ward councillors or maybe the private security companies to solve any problem.

The residents of Northcliff see their relationship with these agencies as the residents of the estate see the HOA and distrust vis a vis institutions does not change greatly among residents living in their different spaces; what changes is the involvement of the ward councillors and their commitment to a more participatory community. In the estate the HOA encourages participation in the life of the estate, and while acting as the mediator with the local municipality, it sometimes tries to encourage the residents to engage with it directly, as the estate is responsible for a different type of organization, internal to the community. In the suburbs residents romanticize the perfect past as the time when efficiency was at its heights. Even though it was connected to the doctrine of separate development, this is not acknowledged at the moment. It is then evident that the HOA of Eagle Canyon is seen as equal to the role of the Peri Urban Health Board of Northcliff in the past. In this way the projection of the garden city continues to be emphasised and, given the position of Northcliff during apartheid, the following declaration of Councillor Reinten is revealing and uncanny at the same time:

“From a democracy point of view I don’t like, I don’t like the security kind of complexes. I feel it removes people from society; you can live in your little bubble and you actually forget what it’s like to live in a developing country, I personally don’t like it. I think it’s, I feel it’s a way of delegating responsibility about where we going as a country to saying I will live in my nice little fancy place and I don’t have to worry about the rest, yeah I personally don’t like it.”

Reinten
Councillor Ward 89

In Northcliff, its residents do not feel “left out” from the city and struggle to be considered, as they are an integral part of it. The service delivery crisis and the organization of the two areas challenge the notion of retreat as a notion to be applied specifically to gated communities and introduce the intertwined question of the material and symbolic implications of the efficient management in the estate. The next section will deal with the material implications of this good management, while the last section will consider the interventions which introduce the concept of commitment and belonging.

5.3. Material implications: adding value to the house

We just wanted to test the market. When we brought these stands to the market, on the first weekend, sold pretty well. So we gave him [to the developer] a good idea of the market in the area, and then once we had done those we started to work on the other phases and the development started to grow. There was more infrastructure coming in, so obviously pricing of the stand changed quickly.

Interview with estate agent Nic Hellberg
October 20th, 2011

Moving into a well-managed estate provides more than just security and an efficient daily life. As pointed out by the rational choice theory, one of the most relevant implications of highly secured estates is that of a good investment: the estate itself adds value to the house and makes the buy a good one. The previous paragraphs have shown how good administration is implemented in the estate despite its internal frictions and how it also shapes a different scale of needs for its residents. The comparison with the open suburb shows that only few residents are vested in creating a better suburb: while the job is in the hands of the councillors, most of the residents of the suburb also seem to live in a bubble where things are organized by the ward councillors. Moreover, the system of maintenance of the estate with its regulations of daily life, the enforcement of rules and the fining system are also decisive factors in determining the value of the houses. Forcing the residents to abide with the rules has got important material implications and a good HOA is one that is able to meet the needs of the residents, one of which is the stability of their investment. In this case the community becomes a community by contract (Brunetta and Moroni, 2012). Chipkin proposes that: “the sectional title regime is embedded in social relations, the value of actual housing units is dependent on the quality of those social relations” (2012, p. 19). This is valid for the overall estate system as well. However, if in the previous section I have elaborated on how the rules are enforced and how they are contrasted, in this section I show how the material aspects are linked to the good administration of the estate and to its internal functioning. To this end a comparison of the functioning of the estate market under two different regimes of property will be explained. In the open suburb residents own their properties, their walls, their electric fences and the role of the councillor is that of co-ordinating the public services such as roads and electricity in order to maintain the suburb liveable and up-to-standards. This is an *individual private* regime of property in which the residents take care of their private properties without any overarching statutory regulation: it is a self-regulated environment. By contrast, in the estate there is a *collective private* management of the properties and of the internal services, regulated by the HOA: here residents abide by internal rules, which thus create a stable environment. It will be argued that the normalizing and regulating action of agencies such as the HOA play a big role in adding value to the property. The increased value of the property in estates is directly correlated to the decrease in crime, and the “crime question” becomes just one of the motivations for moving into gated, thus allegedly safer, places. In fact on the social level, comparing the

open suburb with the estate, brings to the surface the interconnection between the functioning of the estate market with the personal experiences and memories of the residents of the two areas, especially for those who have moved from the suburb to the estate.

According to Lightstone, an estate market research institute based in Johannesburg, in September 2012 the average price of a house in Eagle Canyon was R3.438 Million (USD 392,00), while the average price in Northcliff was R2 Million (USD 228, 00) (Please refer to Appendix C for further details on price of property in the two areas). Estate agents in Northcliff claim that the price of property has gone down with the recession while on estates the values have remained unvaried. Trevor from Rawson Estate Agency in Eagle Canyon stresses that: “if you have a house in here under 2 million rand it sells very fast, but we have other properties not listed for 12 million rand they take 6, 7, 8 months to sell. 6, 7 months and outside you think it takes longer it definitely does, outside we have had properties for a lot longer than that” (interview with Trevor, resident of Eagle Canyon and Rawson Estate Agent, 24th November 2012).

What is the difference at stake? If the HOA acts as “A diligent home owners association [that] applies prudent financial and administrative controls and industry best practice for the estate” (www.housesupport.co.za), then its role is decisive in maintaining the high value of the properties. Interviews with estate managers of various estates in Gauteng always make the point that if they follow the standard, the stability of the estate is guaranteed in all aspects. However, the managers work within a framework of features valued as important from the residents; these are shared in the two areas, but they manifest themselves in different forms and they are valued differently by the residents.

Table 8. *Different features of the two areas: the creation of value through lifestyle*

Feature	Northcliff	Eagle Canyon
The view	Lookout	By the golf course
The size	Big 1-hectare	Less than 1 Hectare
The style	Already built-not well furnished	Different Styles allowed-modern
Maintenance	High	Low
Security	Privately provided	Provided by the HOA
Landscaping	Privately provided	Provided by the HOA
Decorum	In danger-residents are not in charge of cleaning the streets, parks, cannot control billboards	Secured by the HOA
Building rules and regulations	Municipal	Municipal and internal
Rental -ownership	Not controlled	Controlled by the HOA
Communitarian feeling	Left in the residents' hands	Purposely created by the HOA

Table 8 shows that the features considered when buying a property or making an investment are the view, the size, the style, the level of maintenance, the level of security, the rules and regulations regarding landscaping and construction, the decorum of the environment, the presence of a communitarian feeling and the relationship between rental-ownership. These features are the ones determining the desirability of the property.

The different in desirability is exposed by an estate agent from Fine and Country who laments the decrease of the market in the suburb “we have lost many clients to Eagle Canyon”, she says “less and less people want to put up with old houses that need renovation, also people want to live close to private schools” (interview with Pam, Fine and Country real estate agent, 20th September 2012).

Pam explains that residents aspire to move out of the suburb because owning a property in the suburb has become a big burden. Candida, the Pilates teacher who has been introduced previously in Chapter Three decided to buy a little house in Eagle Canyon because she did not need a big house, she wanted to live a simple life and she did not feel like taking care of a big house, with a garden and a swimming pool. The size of the houses in the estate is smaller than the ones in the suburb. Even though many residents of Northcliff see the estate as an overcrowded space in which there is no privacy because properties do not have a big garden, those who have moved into Eagle Canyon have seen it as an improvement in their lifestyle. Each of the above features contributes to increasing the value to the house, provided that the HOA provides good administration. It is worth noting the role of the golf course in Eagle Canyon as it provides an interesting aspect on the connection between the way in which the good administration facilitates the good value of the estate and how this is received and experienced by the residents. The golf course in Eagle Canyon is one of the highlights of the estate. Despite some critiques as to its quality, this has been one of the primary attractions for golf players to buy a property on the estate. The golf course of Eagle Canyon is now managed by the country club, part of the HOA, and all income generated by it is invested both in the beautification of the estate and in boosting the value of the country club. Cock argues that the golf course is the social display of the elite (2008). In Chapter Four I have detailed how playing golf on the estate and being a resident of the estate is involved with aspects of membership to the estate and distinction from those who are not residents. But buying a property overlooking the golf course also means having access to the lifestyle: “we don’t play golf, but we enjoy going out for a walk and we like the nice view. It makes us feel as if we also play golf” (conversation with Candida). The features that determine the worth and the value of the house, clearly channelled by the HOA, are connected to the idea of the good lifestyle. Being able to choose among different house styles, not worrying about the maintenance of the house, especially in terms of security is what adds value to the houses.

The Smith family showed that by moving out of Eagle Canyon they have realized the importance of having an integrated administration. Now they pay for a private security company and for maintenance of the property to an extent that is probably higher than the levies paid in Eagle Canyon. What Table 2 shows about the value features of the properties, is that residents moving into the estate

yearn to experience a new modern life, in which the characteristics of the old world are not simply maintained, but integrated into the new lifestyle. In this way the HOA has two mandates: that of providing security and a good lifestyle and that of assuring that the risk is minimized even when the economy does not do well. This is possible because there is an established concentration of wealth (Jeff Gilmour, President of ARC) . This creates a mechanism on the basis of which people in the open suburbs are more keen to sell their house: as Rawson Estate Agent comments: “outside they break in and the next day you find the house on the market. When there is a problem inside they go to the HOA and ask “what is the problem?” they don’t say I am selling my house” (Interview with Trevor, Rawson Estate Agent and resident of Eagle Canyon, 24th November 2012)

Overall, the HOA is able to create a market for its houses based on social aspects. In fact, reproducing a new, modern and romantic way of living, it increases the likelihood of maintaining a healthy financial management system by satisfying the residents and giving them good reason to keep paying the levies regularly. In the case of the suburb this is not possible to control, as it is self-regulated in many different ways and there is no coherent, controlled and overarching management.

5.4. Symbolic implications. Rehabilitating separation through inclusion

In Chapter Four I introduced the notion that the community as leisure determines the “worth” of the community. I have shown that Eagle Canyon presents itself as a leisure community while leisure activities in Northcliff are not linked to an overarching organization. However, residents defining the “worth” of the community are also looking at the level of commitment. In fact Eagle Canyon sees itself as the “good community” because it is a blend of leisure and commitment. Therefore this section explores the symbolic implications of the life of the estate and of its good administration. It will show how the estate not only presents itself as a committed community, but also how the separate and comprehensive internal management is a necessary condition for residents to feel part of the country. The estate becomes the vehicle that channels belonging and defines the commitment to the country at different levels. The Club good theory suggests that individuals rationally choose to live in gated communities not necessarily motivated by social gains, but mostly to have access to restricted services. If the private good of the estate is restricted to those that own it and their commitment is to maintain it, in the suburb the level of commitment of the residents is associated with dealing with the public good. As noted before, residents of Northcliff are happy about their life in the suburb. Not all of them are vested in its well-being, and the commitment takes two different forms. The first one has been discussed throughout this chapter and Chapter Four and it pertains to the idea that only by living in the suburb and not moving to a gated estate, both residents and councillor feel that they are vested in the new country.

The second form of commitment is related to the maintenance of the public good of the suburb operated by the Rotary Club, one of the most prominent

associations in the suburb. The kind of commitment experienced in Eagle Canyon is different and similar at the same time. It is equally layered between commitment to the local community and commitment to the country as a whole. Expanding on how the commitment is understood leads me to explore how patterns of separation are restored through the symbolic inclusion given by the residents through different levels of belonging. The “good management” of the estate described above allows the residents of the estate to express their “love for the country”.

Commitment in Northcliff

There is no more prominent landmark in Northcliff than the majestic ridge that towers over the area. This natural environment is filled with many species of flowers, birds and grasses – and the views are stunning. Unfortunately, the environmental health of the ridge is often far from ideal. Litter and irresponsible development have impacted on the integrity of the site. So, *Northcliff Rotary decided to act!*

Several *clean-ups of the ridge* were organised in conjunction with local schools. Then a long-term project plan was put into place that would establish a nature trail along the top of the ridge. By making this walking route accessible to the local community, it was hoped that the overall condition of the ridge could be improved through responsible use and monitoring.

It turned out to be a long haul! Several routes for the trail were proposed before a suitable layout was finalised. And it took months of negotiations with various authorities to get the necessary permissions and permits. Eventually, four years after the project was adopted, the new nature trail opened to great acclaim. It just goes to show how perseverance, *commitment and hard work can pay off*.

www.northcliffrotary.co.za/page_projects.php

last accessed August 12th, 2014

Rotary has made the improvement of the ridge of Northcliff one of their main missions. The members of the club meet every Wednesday at the Randpark Ridge Golf Club. They have supper, and every week they discuss a social topic. This philanthropic association is vested in charity, in assisting sick children and tries to raise money to support new school projects. Around the supper table on Wednesdays a group of about 20 residents of Northcliff, white, middle aged, finely dressed in sober fashion, do not discuss personal matters. Instead the mission of the meetings is that of contributing to the enhancement of a better society. Each dinner is accompanied by a presentation by either a member or an outsider and it usually ends with money collection for a charity project. Before Christmas the members offer the waiters of the club (who have served them for the year) extra money for their kind service:

“The president offers the envelope to the waiters accompanied by a speech in which she thanks them, she reminds the companions about the kindness of the waiters and their underprivileged background, she almost can’t hold her tears. She makes sure they use the money carefully. She hugs them and she tells everyone that we should follow their example, because she is sure that they will share the money with their families”

field note
15th December 15th, 2011

The above field note is about the social mission of the club and the ways in which it showcases itself as interested and committed to the wellbeing of the society at large. At the headquarter of her business (cleaning company) in Northcliff, the former president of the association stresses that Northcliff is a truly committed community, both now and in the past. She proudly states that important people such as Beyers Naude have stood up from this area against apartheid and that now the community keeps being committed politically through charity and helping the poor and socially providing services to the suburb. One such contribution has been the rehabilitation of the park: “As you know that whole area of Northcliff, if you look at the ridge, if you look at the mountain of Northcliff, then you will see half of it is not built up with houses and developed. That was the inspiration of the Rotary Club of Northcliff...” (Annemarie, former president of Rotary and resident of Northcliff, 7th December 2012). She encourages me to have a look at the website. As the above extract from the website shows, the commitment to the community takes the form of involvement towards the maintenance of a public park to the benefit of the landscape and of the safe social life of the suburb and of the overall society.

Commitment in Eagle Canyon

Commitment in Eagle Canyon takes two different forms: the internal commitment and the external one. The internal talks to the different ways in which the residents of the estate and the management try to keep the internal system running, while the external commitment is more about the role of the structure of the estate in taking part in a broader transformative process.

Internal commitment

People do not take action in Eagle Canyon, they have already done it by outsourcing the matters to the HOA. Much effort is put into the management of the social and administrative life of the estate. This section of the chapter discusses the ways in which the HOA tries to create a communitarian lifestyle, a sort of a non-belligerent pact, and how it is accepted and contested by the residents. The section will direct the observation to questions of meaning and understanding of community in the estate and in the city. The joint commitment of the residents and the administration to maintain the community stable is based on the assessment of who belongs to the community and who does not. Belonging is determined on the basis of affordability.

Relying on three extraordinary general meetings (EGM), I will elaborate on the modus operandi of the HOA and the residents. The first meeting was called when the HOA bought the clubhouse, in March 2010. There was strong participation from the residents at this meeting: the general manager had

publicised it well, as he wanted residents to be aware a large increase in the levies to fund the investment. The acquisition of the clubhouse was the first step towards completion of the estate.

The second EGM was called in October 2011 to approve the financial penalties to owners of stands who had not completed the construction of their homes within the stipulated five years. I got to know of the EGM through the newsletter, as well as at a Pilates class – an informal class in a woman's garage in the estate (the women in the class were concerned about the beautification of the estate). The meeting was well attended, and the verdict was that the community cannot accept someone who does not build their house on time: "if you cannot face financial problems, you don't belong here." On this occasion, two interesting points came out: the first was that the beautification of the estate was very important for the residents, and the second was that residents articulated a clear difference between those that belong and do not belong in the estate: conforming to the group meant being able to afford living there.

The last EGM, which took place in April 2012, was for the approval of the community charter and Ombuds Committee, whose purpose was to provide a non-legal mechanism for settling residents' disputes. I got to know about the last meeting through a text message sent by the HOA the very same day. Nobody showed up, and as the quorum was not reached, the members of the HOA called friends to come and give support, with some people arriving to vote while drinking at the clubhouse. This EGM had not been publicised at all, and the residents were not given sufficient time to make plans to attend it.

The three events speak about the kind of community that the HOA would like to create. At the same time, they also show the lack of interest the residents have in these events. The community charter encourages residents' participation in social events, a family-oriented atmosphere and a non-belligerent social pact in order to maximise the profit of the HOA and the maintenance of high property values. Thanks to the Ombuds Committee, residential disputes would be settled inside the estate and, according to the management, it would also connect residents, while the HOA would act as mediator. According to Duncan Holmes (general manager until June 2012), the residents were not interested in these mechanisms, with the average participation at meetings and social events at 10% (interview, October 21, 2011). Over the three meetings, residents showed a declining interest proportional to the increase in the normative process of organisation of social life. Property values are really important to the residents (see second EGM meeting), as is the cost of the levies (see first EGM). But this situation also shows the difference between two groups, racially homogeneous but internally divided: an elite (the HOA) that has multiple interests, mainly linked to the possibility of making profit through programmes inside the estate; and a second group that is not interested in this at all, and do not go to the clubhouse for a drink or for the HOA meeting, and who, for example, prefer going to the nearby garden nursery for coffee; this latter group represents the majority of the residents. Their lives revolve around the area and they are involved in other economic networks within the estate and outside, not linked to the HOA. Yet, there is an important aspect that needs to be addressed. The insistence of the HOA on the importance of a communitarian lifestyle produces a *de facto* society where residents decide to comply only to certain rules

(respecting speed limits and letting the HOA solve all kind of disputes among residents are examples of compliance). The internal commitment is about assessing who is eligible to belong to estate for its well-functioning.

External commitment: transformation

In August 2012 ARC and SALGA convened a workshop in Durban to discuss the relationship between the various estates and the South African Local Government Association. They produced a document, in which a proposal for a much stronger dialogue between the two parties was encouraged. Lance Joel, SALGA spokesperson declared that the mission of the workshop was to create such a co-operation between the two parties so as to encourage the residents of gated communities to be part of the broader community: “How can the fortunate assist those outside through social development? Here is the engagement between councillor and HOA. That’s why the need of connection between HOA and ARC”(interview with Lance Joel, April 2013). In this regard, SALGA asks for co-operation of the communities that are fortunate to participate in the process of transformation. Gilmour, president of ARC, fully endorses this call, in fact he shows that estates are fully committed in building a democratic society.

“You know you talk about transformation versus employment equity. Every one of our members has to put an employment equity plan together, a five year plan, none of them have done it but if they get caught they get fined. Whether the structures will ever catch them or not is a different story, that’s why they know they can get away and that plan says you currently employ 15 people in your company, because the HOA is a company, what are the demographics of those 15 people, well all the managers are white male, all the clerks are white females and the labourers are black female and black males. That’s the history of our country so what they are saying is what are you going to do in terms of the five year plan to change that? To bring black people disadvantaged people into management through training and education and upliftment programs.”

Gilmour
ARC president
November 24th, 2012

A few examples of estate transformative philanthropy are found in the country. Peakenwood estate for instance employs people from the community. This is the external commitment of the estates, one in which through providing jobs for the poor, the estate becomes part of change in the country.

In both areas internal commitment is about maintaining the wealth of the group. Even if done with the same intentions, Northcliff’s commitment is directed to the benefit of the overall society as the area is public. However, the concern for issues such as landscape (not allowing construction on the ridge) are also linked to a rational move towards maintaining the high value of the area. This resonates greatly with the internal commitment in Eagle Canyon, where participation and belonging are defined on the basis of financial commitment to

the estate. The difference is that the internal commitment of Eagle Canyon does not necessarily coincide with the external one. In fact, proper programmes are put in place to formalize the commitment of the state vis à vis the broader society.

Figure 16. Newsletter of Eagle Canyon November, 2011



Why emigrate overseas?

GOOD NEWS SA

• South Africa's debt to GDP ratio is 32% (USA 100%, Japan 200%, UK 90%). The World Bank recommends a ratio of 60%.

• South Africa sold \$1.8 billion worth of cars to the US in 2010, putting us ahead of Sweden and Italy as suppliers to the US market. Car sales are projected to grow 10% in 2011 to 460,000 units.

• South Africa is ranked 1st out of 139 countries in respect of regulation of security exchanges according to the World Economic Forum competitiveness report 2010-2011.

• The South African stock market rose 16.09% in 2010, ranking 8th out of the G20 nations and ahead of all of the G7 countries (Bespoke Investment Group).

• The South African Rand was the second best performing currency against the US Dollar between 2007 and 2011, according to Bloomberg's Currency Scorecard.

• The number of tourists visiting South Africa has grown from 3.9 million in 1994 to 11.3 million in 2010. South Africa is ranked among the top 5 countries in the world in respect of tourism growth [growing at 3 times the global average].

• Cape Town was named the top tourist destination in the world in the 2011 Travellers Choice Destinations awards.

• OR Tambo airport is the best airport in Africa, according to the World Airport Awards 2010/11. It was also in the top 3 most improved airports in the world for the same period.

• SA has 30,000 schools (7,000 secondary, 23,000 primary). In 1994 only 12,000 had electricity. Now 24,000 have access to electricity. South Africa's learner to teacher ratio has improved from 1:50 in 1994 to 1:31 in 2010.

• SA's population is the 27th largest in the world (there are 230 countries, only 80 have a population in excess of 10 million). South Africa is not listed as one of the 49 fastest growing populations. Our population is set to stabilise at ±50 million for the next 29 years.


• The percentage of the South African population with access to clean drinking water has increased from 62% in 1994, to 93% in 2011.

• Access to electricity has increased from 34% in 1994, to 84% in 2011.

• Since 1994, 435 houses have been built each day for the poor.



Source: Conversations with Chris Hart, chrishart.co.za

Figure 17. Newsletter of Eagle Canyon. November 2011




When you can emigrate to Eagle Canyon...


- The national benchmark security estate of SA
- Bluechip property investment

- 'Colorado Links' type golf-course
- Community lifestyle
- Natural eco-environment



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5.4.1. Escalation in belonging: the suburb, the city, the nation

“We could have gone to Europe, but we are staying here because we love South Africa.”

“The option was, either move to Australia, or to move here in Eagle Canyon and that’s what we did.”

Residents of Eagle Canyon

As noted throughout the work and as shown in Figure 16 and 17, the estate attracts citizens that would not choose to live in other parts of the country either because they have had a bad experience with crime or because they long for efficiency and the good life. The estate accommodates these needs and, providing a comfortable environment it also provides the residents with a way of re-entering the country and feeling part of it. The level of belonging to the country in this case is thus also determined by the role of institutions such as the HOA that facilitate this kind of movement. The South African Institute of Race Relations reports that between 1995 and 2005 the white population has shrunk by 16 per cent (Andrucki 2010, p. 359). Ballard (2004) uses the notion of “semigration” to refer to those that have decided to stay despite the political unrest, but that have decided to emigrate into security estates. Semigration refers to a half-way out of the country, it refers to the what Hirshman has called the “exit” option from society. However referring to a simple move out and retreat into a bubble is somehow missing the point of the wish to be included in the country (under a specific set of norms and regulations). For instance, if we take the vote as a indicator to evaluate the participation in the public sphere, we would be surprised to see that in both areas residents have shown high levels of participation in the municipal elections in May 2011⁵⁵. This challenges the idea of total retreat of the residents of the estate: “we need to vote, otherwise we will end up being like in Zimbabwe, this country is getting worse and worse by the month” (conversation with Sarah, resident of Eagle Canyon, 25th August 2011). It is precisely this example that helps to further articulate the question of belonging. Residents moving into the estate have not decided to retreat fully from society and in some respects they are still obliged to attend to many of the duties as citizens, such as that of the Census.

The census brings it all together

In October 2011 fieldworkers for the Census had to access residents’ houses and much organization was put in place in the golf estate for this event. The

⁵⁵ In both areas at the municipal elections in 2011 the DA won: in Ward 97 (Eagle Canyon) DA got 81.78% of votes, while in Northcliff (Ward 89) the DA got 84.21%

HOA and the security managers started informing the residents about the procedures to follow and about the legitimacy of the Census. A few extracts from the emails sent out to the residents and text messages help getting into the atmosphere.

“Dear Residents, Stats SA is a state institution mandated in terms of the Statistics Act No. 6 of 1999 (hereinafter referred to as the “Act”) to collect any information from all persons, business, households etc. for statistical purposes... Security has been liaising with the department with regard to access procedures for their fieldworkers to enter the Estate. We await the designated employee’s names and ID numbers as well as the proposed hours of work before access will be authorised. We have also requested information with regard to the background screening of designated fieldworkers (my emphasis).”

Email received on 11/10/2011

“To ensure the safety of our Estate and to assist residents, we have made arrangements for the Census staff to be accommodated at the Club House daily from 10h00 – 21h00 during this period (my emphasis). Work stations are being set up in the Club House foyer and ten fieldworkers have been screened and vetted.”

Email received on 19/10/2011

“Census staff did not arrive at 10am today, they will be at Estate at 1pm. Apologies for the inconvenience, we are in their hands and this is out of our control.”

Text message received on 21/10/2011

“Further to our SMS today, the Executive Manager for Stats SA Gauteng visited the Estate yesterday afternoon and was unhappy with the current census arrangements. According to their procedure, fieldworkers are required to walk from home to home. This will commence at 14h00 today and the security Patrol vehicles will monitor...”

Email received on 27/10/2011

At the time of the census I was doing observation on the estate and the most common reactions to the Census from the residents were expressions of disinterest, disillusionment and disappointment with the State and its representatives for not being up to standard with the procedures and for not having compiled a qualitatively challenging and valid questionnaire. Comments from the residents were mainly linked to distrust. The idea that census fieldworkers are dangerous was widespread; this is why often there was high reluctance in disclosing all the information requested for the sake of the protection of the property. This resulted in inaccurate and superficial answers to the questionnaire. Interestingly such disinterest was said to be caused by the bad quality of the questionnaire, its incoherence and its excessive lengths filled with

unnecessary and useless questions. At the time I was not doing observation in the open suburb, though later, I heard the same comments over the census and the same attitude. So what is the difference between the two experiences?

The role of the HOA of ensuring a smooth, safe and ordered way through the census is what mainly makes the difference between the experience of the census in the golf estate and in the suburb, where information about the procedure to be followed had been communicated via public media, and there was no special security put in place to ensure the safe proceeding of data collection. Furthermore residents of the estate felt less vulnerable, because they were protected by the security apparatus, though, on the other hand, they were unsettled about having to let, by state law, unwanted people inside their extended private sphere, the club house, where the fieldworkers were sitting to process the questionnaire. As citizens of the country and residents of a gated golf estate it is possible to escape some commitment to the city and the state, but residents cannot escape major commitments to the broader community, such as, for instance, contributing to the Census.

The suburb, initially intended as an appendix to the city, especially in Johannesburg, is now considered to be part of the city. Residents of the open suburb claim attachment to the suburb where they live, as well as attachment to the city as they feel that they dirty their hands with it, they have to deal, on a daily basis, with problems of service delivery (potholes and road maintenance mainly). According to the ward councillor Ingrid Reinten, residents and institutions participate in the democratic process, because there is positive and constructive engagement with local authorities to make the lived space and the community better. In this case they see themselves as the real people, the ones that put up with problems vis a vis the city and the state.

Contrarily, residents of the golf estate are detached from some of the chores of living in the city, thanks to the mediation of the HOA. Though, they still need to contribute to it as tax payers, in the same way as the residents of the unregulated suburb. Their main concern of service delivery on the golf estate is not linked to requests to the local municipality for road maintenance, rather it is to the management of the estate for the well-functioning of the SPA or the clubhouse, for which they pay levies. In this case the estate and its administration functions as a structure in which institutions of the suburb and of the local administration are combined. This situation creates the perception of a different set of values being acted out in the two areas, linked to the idea of living in the real world for the residents of the open suburbs, as opposed to living in a bubble, in a very extravagant and flashy way for those of Eagle Canyon.

Residents of the open suburb feel that they belong to the city in a social and political way. Residents of the golf estate belong to the city in a more functional and contingent way, they go out to work and shop: it is more for necessity and leisure.

Residents of the estate have made a conscious choice, at least, this is what they claim, of living in the country, in fact they could have left, but they decided to stay (even though in the latest newsletters of the estate I observed an increase in people emigrating to other countries), because they love the country, the land, the nation. Living in South Africa becomes a way of asserting a way of being

South African. It is a form of loyalty to the country, though in a very particular way, in a soothing, ordered environment. It is not a surprise that one of the advertisements of the estate agency Chaz Everitt reads: “Why emigrate overseas, when you can migrate to Eagle Canyon?”

As has been shown through the example of the Census, these suburbs are differently managed and institutions are crucial actors. The golf estate is managed by the Homeowners Association and it is the main actor inside the estate as well as the medium through which residents deal with some external institutions. Membership is statutory. In the open suburb there is no such institution managing the residents’ lives. They do refer, in very few cases though, to ward councillors, to community policing forums, or to the residents associations. This reflects a different kind of gating. In the first case there is double gating, one that creates the environment, the community and that contains the organization and management of the estate (a collective privacy), and the other that concerns the individual houses (an individual privacy). This last form of gating exists in the open suburb as well.

The role of the different institutions at play in the differently organized suburbs is extremely relevant in understanding how identities are shaped in the urban space, and in the two suburbs. Linking this to the notion of transformation, it is possible to speak of static transformation on the estates and associated with this is the idea of who is part of the country and who is vested in transformation and who betrays it. On the golf estate in question new spatial and social communities are characterized by a strong feeling of belonging to the nation but not to the city, it discloses a strong form of patriotism. Alternatively in the old suburb, residents feel that they live in the real world and that they are integral part of the city. The idea of static transformation of the estate is linked to promotion and institutionalization of this idea by the HOA. It is static because, despite being a new environment (where everyone can buy a house with not restriction of race, gender and background, provided that they are able to afford it), elements of status are maintained, not least the strong attachment to an idealized South Africa. The following fieldnote shows that those living in Eagle Canyon do long for responses from the outside institutions:

“Interesting the relation to state institutions. It seems that there is distance and disillusion, but when the opportunity to interact with the Minister comes by, the marketing manager of Eagle Canyon is very excited and that they have to speak out. In this case people are very involved in the estate, maybe they raise funds for charity and so on, but they do not seem to be interested in the State, or whatever it stands for. However, if they could speak, E. wants to take the opportunity immediately, she keeps telling everybody that at the presidency they cannot find white people to speak out, even though I do not recall Toivo saying so.”

Fieldnote
March 20th, 2011

The marketing manager, a white Afrikaans woman, communicates to Toivo, a black woman also living in Eagle Canyon and working at the Presidency, the

feeling of not being noticed by the new dispensation. Telling her that she wants to be heard and that she would be happy to be the “white” South African to speak out, she clearly shows her loyalty to the country and at the same time her active involvement. In the context of the new dispensation and in the space of the golf estate, this is extremely evocative. The gated estate becomes the space in which the legacy of the separate development manifests itself in a racial blend. The space becomes the expression of the new life for the black middle class (see Toivo), and of the expression of loyalty for white South Africans.

But the scale of belonging elaborated so far is not completed. In Chapter 4 I discussed how the “worth” of the community is based on values and how Eagle Canyon reacts to the criticism of Northcliff by stressing their difference from the northern suburbs, and particularly Dainfern Golf Estate. If Eagle Canyon does not seem to feel associated with the city of Johannesburg, but stresses the love for the country, this estate asserts its difference from Dainfern, the fake and extravagant community. Dainfern in fact has implemented a move out of the country: the estate hosts expats and international multinational managers. The general manager of Dainfern confirms the suggestions of the residents:

“That is why I am bringing it back to the members here, I want them to meet people from Africa that I have met, especially the ambassadors, commercial attaches, people who are sponsoring business because I think that if we help our residents, we are creating not only a lifestyle for them but, you know, it is a service. We have got the centre, we have got the clubhouse, why not sponsor these events and then it makes Dainfern more attractive because we shouldn’t only exist just to provide, collect levies and provide security and provide maintenance and provide lifestyle. We should also see other functions, I see, what else can we do to help our residents, let’s have parties, let’s have networking, let’s have social activities. You know, we have got running clubs, we have got tennis clubs, we have got squash clubs, we have got swimming clubs. We have got a soccer club and we have got the golf so it is all part of the lifestyle as I see it.”

Interview with manager of Dainfern
2nd October 2012

Dainfern, contrarily to Eagle Canyon, configures itself as a space oriented towards the international sphere, not loyal to the country, thus not vested in the well-being of the country.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has interrogated and questioned the notion of gated communities as sites of retreat and separation. Investigating the organization of the administration of the two suburbs, it has argued that certain dynamics are common to both the suburb and the gated community. The efficient system of administration provided by the estate has the power to integrate into the country those that would have migrated if they had not found such an arrangement.

Contrary to model of rational choice, this chapter has shown that both material and symbolic implications are embedded in the world of gated communities. If the material implications seem to be straightforward and self evident, this is not the case for the symbolic implications. This chapter has shown that the estate is not a mere bubble, where residents wish to live to escape from the country. On the contrary the estate becomes the space in which a different scale of political community takes place. Analysing how the estate becomes a site of inclusion into the country allows for a challenge of the connection between gated estates and retreat. The estate reproduces the ideal of separate development in the country and it reproduces the ideal of an efficient space in which a democratic experience is lived according to the terms of its residents. Challenging the neoliberal reading of the estate as a mere space of retreat of the successful, this chapter shows that the estate becomes the space of inclusion of the successful, creating a political community that feels committed to the nation, though escaping the city of Johannesburg. The commitment to the country and the assertion of citizenship is instrumental to the justification for living in the estate.

6.

Chapter Six

Crime and the just order: reproducing and longing for authority and predictability but creating and enjoying the good safe space

For the residents of the estate, choosing to live a good life and adopting a nice lifestyle is not only about living in a manicured and beautified space far from the gloomy and deteriorated city centre, but also about having access to a safe and secure space, which becomes part of the good lifestyle. So far in this work I have focused on the ways in which the estate represents a good way of living in terms of reproducing a nice landscape, how it offers the space in which the seeds of the “worth” of the community find fertile soil to bloom, and how it also provides good management, almost comparable to the perfection experienced during apartheid. I have detailed how the residents interpret and give meanings to niceness, to the worth of the community and to its good administration. The crime question has been left as the last aspect to be addressed for two reasons. Firstly crime in South Africa could be a very overpowering issue given the high and violent rates of crime. Secondly, fear of crime is undoubtedly acknowledged as one of the main drivers for people to move into gated communities, especially in countries that undergo great transformation under the neoliberal era, such as South Africa.

These two factors combined would make the “fear of crime” one of the most obvious reasons for residents to move into gated estates. However, the crime question somehow ties together all the aspects discussed previously and it further indicates how the lifestyle and the entitlement to it is strongly associated with the possibility of living in a “good and safe space”. Thus the aim of this chapter is to address the question of crime moving away from the idea that walled and private zones are necessary the consequence of high rates of crime. Therefore I explore not only the direct connection of the fear of crime to the high levels of crime and to the flight into gated communities, but I also establish how the safe living conditions found in these gated estates are to be read in continuity with the past, and thus how the residents that move into the estate look for a certain degree of protection, authority and surveillance.

Contributing to debates that see gated estates as the direct consequence of the fear of crime and as the manifestation of militarization and privatization of space, especially in transnational societies, I argue that the discussion on crime, control and predictability reveals that the estate within the context of transitional societies, represents a very cogent political shift: in South Africa the apartheid state used to exert and perform high levels of control on its residents who had no choice but to respect it. At present, the state does not exert the same form of control (that leads to safety and well-being for some), thus some residents voluntarily decide to move into spaces in which control, in order to provide safety, is exerted by a different institution, the HOA. The shift is from being controlled by the state, not in voluntary terms, to choosing to be controlled by another agent, in order to have a safe space in which to live. Looking at the case

of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, it is possible to see the continuities with the past: the gated estate promotes itself as the good and safe space, it reproduces some of the dynamics of the past with elements of newness, thus its residents feel the protagonists of a new society.

In this last chapter I keep arguing that in order to understand the role of gated estates in society and their relevance to the residents, they need to be framed within the bigger context, both spatially and chronologically. Residents that decide to move into estates are often not concerned with issues of privatization of security and of space or with matters of control. In traumatized and divided cities (Colame and Charlesworth 2009), segregation and difference are evident with a strong legacy of the past. In the first chapter I showed how the naissance of the gated community is readable in full continuity with the naissance of suburbs. In this chapter I argue that linking all the aspects together discussed so far, suburbs during apartheid were like gated communities in which gating was invisible as rules and regulations were dictated by the state. The crime question articulates space, gender and race, revealing the importance of looking at the function of gates more than at gated communities as objects.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first one I start by describing the shift, first looking at the real concern of crime and at its most vocal form in the daily life, “the talk of crime”. Outlining the social meanings of the talk of crime, I develop the way in which residents see crime and macabre stories as integral parts of their lives, both in the past and in the present and how these are used to justify the tight levels of control on the estate. In this first section I also describe the double character of the talk of crime in the estate, where residents adopt both an internal and an external voice, linked to each other. The residents of the estate use the internal talk of crime to justify their presence in the estate and the external talk of crime to stress their entitlement to a safe life. The “talk of crime” contributes to redefine a geography of fear (Davis 1999) with the lived geography of the residents, as described in Chapter 3. I then move to a detailed account of the ways in which the institutions of the two areas provide safety and security for the residents: association with the fear of crime, is the longing for security and these are recurrent concerns in the lives of South Africans across race and class. Fear of crime, together with neoliberal market forces, is debated as one of the main drivers of the mushrooming of security zones. As discussed previously, in transitional societies such as South Africa the uncertainty that comes with processes of democratization, which in this country have also coincided with a process of institutional reshuffling (that of the police being part of it), are sometimes accompanied by an increase in criminal incidents.

In the second section I show how the talk of crime and the new geography of fear are used to face, accept and contrast the organized battle against crime carried out by both institutions and residents and also how the individual wall of the suburb and the communal wall of the estate create a difference in the ways in which residents live the city and the private spaces.

In the last section I develop how the idea of “losing control of the situation” is associated with the lack of authority, protection and surveillance in the two areas and how the social meanings of losing control are imbued with gender, race and space dynamics. The perfection previously described not only involves

the administration, but it is valid in the area of the security as well. “We used not to have fences” or, “we used not to worry about crime, we were free”, are usual expressions. The last section shows that the good city and the good administration in which residents find themselves is extremely affected by the organization of the spaces, and that they put in place mechanisms to justify their choice to live there. I keep arguing that the idea of the new community, in a new space is deeply entrenched and in line with that of the past. Residents with their talk of crime, their outsourcing and spatial connections, make the shift from a forced control to a voluntary one in order to experience the same social order, perfection, and niceness that they used to experience in the past. The gate becomes in this instance one of the main differences and characteristics between the two areas of the estate and the suburb, as it is what physically contains the terms of control.

6.1. The social uses of the talk of crime: macabre but in a holiday setting

I started this chapter by describing the social uses of the talk of crime and in this first section I show how the talk of crime, for the residents of the two areas, is manifested in the narration of macabre stories in a holiday setting, thus how it is an introduction to the understanding of the ideal of the good and safe city. The talk of crime is also deeply entrenched with broader societal matters and its patterns are ascribable to the different stages of South African history. The same way the worth of the community previously described is defined according to some of the relevant aspects of the society, the talk of crime and the experience of crime could be seen both in spatialized and in chronological terms. The Victims of Crime survey released in 2012 shows that Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town are the cities where crime hits more violently. Violent crime is the biggest concern for the country; this includes armed robberies, car hijacking and burglaries. A report from the Institute for Security Studies (20 September 2012) states that while crime has decreased by 21% since the financial year 2001/2002 when it reached its peak, recently the trend has changed and it has slightly increased in the year 2011-2012. Though the validity of the statistics is not certain. The Institute for Security Studies points out that more regular reports must be released and denounces statistical inaccuracy and inconsistency. Concerns about the quality and reliability of statistics are not new to the country. At the dawn of the year 2000, the then Minister of Safety and Security Steve Tshwete together with the National Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi, announced the decline of the crime rate, but these were unattainable promises. The problem was not just the high level of crime, but also the lack of a wide picture of the country, where prisons were overcrowded and the criminal justice system not up to date. The alleged unreliability of statistics supports the sentiment of being in a country where the state and its institutions are not reliable. In a way, it contributes to a “talk of crime” that is not only about anecdotes, but also about a public discourse, linked to a more general discrediting of institutions and talks of corruption.

From the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994 the country has undertaken a so called path of democratization with the main project being the creation of a

new country (Comaroffs 2006). What is at stake in this transformation and in this attempt of reconstruction is who is part of the new South Africa and who is not (Hentschel 2007) and the question of crime is tightly connected to the idea of an ordered and secure society. Crime is one of the main public topics discussed in South Africa. As Thomas Blom Hansen (2006) states:

“The fall of apartheid’s repressive police state was followed by a dramatic increase in crime. The situation in the late 1990s was marked by mounting panic as a spectre of fear of sudden death or victimization at the hands of anonymous criminals had entered everyday life. The front garden, the driveway, the traffic lights, any dark street at night and even one’s own house were now zones of insecurity” (2006, p. 281).

Within these current zones of insecurity and the talk of crime is the:

“Everyday conversations, commentaries, discussions, narratives, and jokes that have crime and fear as their subject, is contagious to fear and the talk, not only produce certain types of interpretation and explanations (usually simplistic and stereotypical); they also organize the urban landscape and the public space, shaping the scenario for social interactions, which acquire new meanings in a city becoming progressively walled.” (Caldeira 2001, p.19).

In South Africa the talk of crime is everywhere, in fact safety/security/crime are dominant concepts of the South African imagination even in advertising, indeed it is not uncommon to see posters on the street reminding us that “Cutting energy is a crime”; or that “Buying illegal cigarettes you support gun trafficking” or “Get tested: don’t be scared to know your HIV status” “go at .com, safe and secure sex”. Overall though the talk of crime is often not very well articulated, it involves a fairly narrow and repetitive vocabulary and it is rhetorical, obvious and predictable. However, following Caldeira, the talk of crime contributes to a common shared knowledge on crime and acts as a pivotal element for the development of a static knowledge of crime, and thus of a static society. Thus the talk of crime helps maintaining the social order in the country thanks to a shared knowledge of it.

In South Africa this kind of talk is very common, often not too articulated and it presents itself with a very repetitive vocabulary. Its simplicity, as suggested by Caldeira, contributes to the creation of a shared knowledge of crime and it acts as a fundamental element for stories of crime that repeat themselves in a static manner, based on the same rhythms and on the same expectations. The talk of crime takes four different forms but it is pretty similar in the two areas. It is chronologically and spatially determined and residents use it to make order and to describe the country.

Past: macabre but tranquil

“Josephine (resident of Eagle Canyon) sits at the kitchen counter every day, she sips wine, she stares at the window smoking cigarettes and being worried about her life. She is restless and as usual after a few glasses of wine she talks of the disgraces of her family. Both her dad and brother died. Her mother lives in Cape Town, they are not in good terms. Today again she described her brother’s death, they found him shot at home, this was 20 years ago and still now, she claims, the reasons are unknown. Macabre stories are integrated in her daily life, images of death are part of her discourse: “I have seen enough death in my life, today I have seen 20 dead people due to a taxi accident, I am devastated.”

Fieldnote
June 12th, 2011

Josephine’s account talks about the ways in which association with the macabre in the past is often linked to family matters. The death of her brother was at home, in the private space and not overtly associated with political issues. Her memory of the past is that of sad and violent experiences, but also of a wealthy life. She narrates that her house in East London was full of crystal chandeliers and that she comes from a good family. Her brother’s murder is not narrated as a criminal issue. Sadness, gloomy environments and bad situations characterize her talks. Josephine’s macabre stories do not necessarily have a racial connotation, as far as the past is concerned. Yet, when she talks about the present, there is often a racialized and spatialized tone. The taxi accident that she has witnessed is about 20 black bodies, and to emphasize her closeness to death she remarks that she has seen too many deaths in her life.

Sitting at the kitchen counter inside her residency in Eagle Canyon she enjoys the landscape of the estate, its functioning, and its safety. However, she cannot overcome the darkness of her past, which she brings up very often. When talking of the macabre past, residents do not usually refer to the crimes of apartheid⁵⁶. These are not contemplated. Remembering the past is often linked to the idea of having lived a nice life generally, but often touched by sad stories of death.

Transitional macabre stories

“Sitting at the patio, looking at the void and exposed to the sun, while knitting a scarf for winter for her niece, she remembers of a very sad moment of the immediate post-apartheid. She was in Northcliff with her husband, driving the

⁵⁶ According to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court "The crime of apartheid" means inhumane acts of a character similar to those referred to in paragraph 1, committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime. (2002)

car: they witnessed a kidnap. I white girl was walking in the street while a car full of workers came by, took the girl and they left. She describes her feeling as that of disempowerment, there was no emergency number they could call, they felt responsible about not doing anything, but at the same time they knew they could not do anything. While she narrates it she shows a little emotion, and she almost can't hold her tears. Given this experience she doesn't want her niece to walk home from school, this is why she picks her up every day and this is also why anytime I walk to the recreation centre (not even 100 meters away from home), she would like me to carry the panic button with me as to be able to call the security if anything goes wrong."

Field note
June 15th, 2012

The couple that lives in Berario/Northcliff is certainly exemplar of the fear of the period of transition. The feeling of powerlessness that they have experienced when they could not call for help is indicative of the lack of trust in the transitional institutions and also of how a racialized aspect to the crime has started developing. The invisible walls of the past were starting to become problematic, as they were no longer being efficiently enforced. The safe space in the transitional area has started to be challenged by the freedom of movement and by the collapse of the Pass Laws.

The memory of this event is still very strong for the couple who still lives in the same area and still feels that the space is not safe. The couple (with whom I shared the house during my observation period in Northcliff) used to say to me "please take the panic button with you if you go out at night, even if you walk to the near-by recreation centre. It is safer, don't trust anyone". This is clearly a very important aspect as to the couple the talk of crime is still very much associated to that experience.

The farm: past and continuity

Steinberg in 2002 writes *Midlands*, the story of the murder of a white South African farmer.

The murder of the white farmer is one of the most scaring episodes, especially in the post 1994. Many of the residents of the two areas have families living in the farms and they fear for them. The farm is the connection point between the past and the present and it represents the spatial and social legacy of the past. It is what links residents to the past, its landscape. For those that have moved to the estate the farm is a burden, as they are concerned with its well-being, and when they go there on holiday they are scared of becoming victims of crime:

"Life in the farm now is dreadful, we have a farm, but it is always a problem, especially for security reasons. We don't know how to deal with it. We enjoy it because it reminds us of our family, but nowadays it is a trouble, there is

something nice about going there on family reunions, we sing, we eat, it is like going back to the past. But I fear for myself when we go there, the situation has changed.”

Conversation with Sophia
resident of Eagle Canyon
September 25th, 2011

Spatially the farm is away from both the estate and the suburb, it is at the heart of the country. Its landscape is evoked as tranquil and peaceful. It is where the memory of the past resides, yet a scary and unstable space at present.

The present: house arrests and hijackings, brutality in the country

Since 1994 the stories of crime and the talk of crime has been mostly concerned with hijackings and house arrests. Having been held at gun point is just one of the most common experiences among the residents of Eagle Canyon. Currently the racial character of the crime is linked to the free movement of all South Africans across the different spaces. However, crime at present is also about offences such as stealing electricity or selling drugs, especially when referred to black and poor people.

“I think I can speak from experience because I have had three incidents in my life, in the past maybe, eight years, three incidents that could have gone horribly wrong but it will not move me to say, it will make me more aware, it will make me more alert, it will because we are of this land, this soil, this place and we must just sort of reach out and I think that if we reach out and you try and educate people because education brings jobs, jobs brings kind of an opportunity to make the right choice, if you don’t have all of that your choices are very limited and you might make the wrong choice so no, I would not make the choice for any security village because I think there are other restrictions...”

Interview with Annemarie
resident of Northcliff
December 7th, 2012

Annemarie takes her experience with crime as an opportunity to be more alert, to be more aware of where she lives and she clearly states that this experience will not make her move to the estate.

Crime is also linked to activities such as prostitution, delineating a moral connotation to it as the following extract shows:

“So crime point of view open spaces is a problem, the mountain, the wet lands, the open spaces in Weltevreden Park kopies, I’ve got people staying there

and then the ... houses are my two big crime concerns. Apparently there was a house in ... that was used as a, what's the English word, for prostitution."

Interview with Reinten
Councillor of Northcliff
November 19th, 2012

Finally, crime in the suburb is often linked and connected to the past:

"I was much more confident with the old set up. Look, you know we didn't have any crime in those days because they were very tough. If they found strange Africans walking around an area they shouldn't be in, the police would question them, even arrest them if they were unhappy but nowadays they walk all over the place and most of them are perfectly decent people but some are criminals and those criminals take advantage of that. So crime wasn't a problem, it was only once the African government took over that it became more and more and more of a problem as Africans moved into white areas...I think all they did by abolishing apartheid was crime just moved to all the white areas and Indian areas and so forth. Look apartheid was wrong, I didn't go along with it at all..but on the other hand they ran the country efficiently, the roads were good, there were none of these toll gates anywhere... Everything just worked so much better."

Interview with Ray
resident of Northcliff
June 2012

Crime is a new experience in South Africa, as Ray notes, during apartheid it was contained and only now it is widespread everywhere. Often crime is also associated with strikes and service delivery protests and their brutality, thus a further racial and spatial connotation is put forward: "they are criminal and we should teach them a lesson, they burn tyres and they are brutal" (Conversation with Jill, resident of Eagle Canyon, 25th April 2011).

In Eagle Canyon the talk of crime is often linked to the memory of past experience of hijackings or house arrests: "we had an house arrest while we were in Northcliff, the same night we left that property, sold it and moved to Eagle Canyon, we struggled" and to the protests in informal settlements, but it is also about internal accidents:

Dear Residents,

The HOA Board would like to inform residents of two incidents that have occurred within the La Bellucia complex:

- At approximately 06h00 the residents left for work. All the windows in the unit were closed and latched. The outer doors were locked. The husband returned at 16h00 and did not enter the main bedroom. He left again at 18h00 and returned with his wife at approximately 19h00. On entering the bedroom, the wife saw broken glass on the bedroom carpet and on lifting the blind noticed that a bottom window pane had been smashed. Cupboard doors were open as well as a bedside drawer. A short while later it was established that an Iphone which was

left in the bedside drawer was missing. Security was informed. The matter is still under investigation by the SAPS.

- At approximately 13h00 security was notified by the resident that a person had entered her home via a bathroom window which was open. She reported that she was lying on a bed watching DVD's on a laptop when a black male opened the bedroom door. He advised that he was looking for Johnny. The resident questioned how he had entered the unit but he did not respond. As she was alone and frightened, she escorted him to the front door and then reported the incident. According to the resident he then proceeded upstairs to another unit where he knocked on the door and the resident, opened the door and the perpetrator responded that he is looking for Johnny. A description of the suspect was supplied and a search was conducted. A domestic gardener registered to a unit was arrested and taken into custody.

Investigations:

- The first incident the SAPS was contacted and no positive fingerprints could be lifted.
- The second incident fingerprints were uplifted.
 - Security was made aware of the second incident promptly. A description was given of the suspect and he was identified at a unit in La Bellucia by security. The witness also positively identified this person. The suspect was then arrested and detained at the Honeydew SAPS where he remains in custody.
- We are trying to link the two incidents however without fingerprint comparisons and witnesses this makes it virtually impossible.
- A number of people have been interviewed regarding the first incident i.e. painting contractors within the complex and other people residing within the complex either as suspects or witnesses.
- Polygraph examinations were conducted for investigation guidance.
- On receiving information from the polygraph examinations, further interviews have taken place and no positive leads have been established to finalise the first incident and or link the two incidents to the detained suspect.

Recommendations:

- Residents should take additional precautions and where possible conduct background checks before employing staff.
- All residents should register domestic staff at the Main Gate and have access cards issued even if the staff are only employed on a temporary basis. Parameters on the access cards can be set for specific days when the domestic works.
- We urge residents to take accountability for the whereabouts of their domestic staff at all times. Security depends on this assistance as we believe security begins at home.
- Install an alarm system which can be linked to the Eagle Canyon Control Room and monitored. This is a 24 hour facility and at this stage no costs are involved with regards to the monitoring thereof.
- If an alarm is already installed kindly ensure the system is activated when leaving your home for any period of time.

The internal talk of crime is often informed by the communication spread by the HOA to the residents. As the above example shows, concern about security is of utmost importance and it is often linked to issues occurring inside the estates. Not only details of the issue are reported, but also ways in which it is possible to face it, for example installing an alarm system and connect it to the HOA. This

leads the residents to adopt a series of strategies in order to live safely inside the estate. However, the love for the estate is also linked to the idea of being able to leave the house without worries and concerns, as distinct from what happens in the suburb where there is no overall control. The talk of crime of Northcliff is usually linked to the area in which people live, in Eagle Canyon it is associated with the inside but always considered one of the major threats outside the estate – to the country.

The four accounts exemplify greatly the main different fears South Africans have and face in the different realms. As Calderia points out the talk of crime produces an order and a narration of the country. In the remainder of this section I detail how the talk of crime represents the configuration of a new e of fear (Davis 1999). As it has been shown in Chapter Three, there is a racial antagonism to the centre of Johannesburg and to its disorder. The four narrations presented above explain this in deeper detail and they show that there is continuity between the present and the past. While referring to the past the talk of crime is mostly linked to personal experiences that are not necessarily connected to the apartheid system, nor to racial dynamics. During the transition there has been a great concern with the lost of control and the talk of crime has started to be also about the impossibility of taking action in case of criminal incidents. The present talk of crime expresses a process of redesigning the city and the spaces in which people live. Previously the invisible boundaries of the open suburb were extremely tight and strict thanks to the enforcement of the state.

Nowadays they are loose and for those who prefer that order, they have been substituted by the walls of the estate, in which there is a double talk of crime where it works in two ways: on the one hand it fosters the gated mentality but on the other hand in breaking the stories down they are recreated according to the reality of the estate. In this way the knowledge on “crime life” outside the estate is known in terms of a narrative or past memory and the new stories recreate a new internal narration. No doubt the rhetoric on crime and security affects and fosters the sentiment of uncertainty when going outside, but the internal talk of crime provides tips for a visit to Johannesburg as well as for life inside the estate.

As suggested by Caldeira, the simplicity of this kind of talk contributes to the creation of a shared knowledge of the crime and it acts as a fundamental element for stories of crime that repeat themselves in a static manner, based on the same rhythms and on the same expectations. The talk of crime is tightly connected with the concept of moral panic, defined as:

“A condition, episode, person or group emerges to become defined as a threat to social values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes visible.”
(Cohen 1980, p. 9)

Jack Katz (1987) deals with the fascination of crime stories. He argues that crime stories with the ability to make news are those, among others, that prove the moral integrity of the community to be endangered, though the moral attack is linked to questions of private property and ownership, and also, as it has been previously shown, to the idea of entitlement. Katz states that crime becomes newsworthy when it victimizes the elite (1987) and this is extremely evident in the South African context. Crime in South Africa is as stratified as the overall society, though it is an underlying factor to all stories. Macabre stories of members of the families being killed and firearm stories are very common. Crime is to be linked and analysed in relation to the process of democratization and to its legacy: such a state of high crime and violence (which seems to be the strongest characteristic of crime in South Africa) follows the demise of a police-state as portrayed during the years of the apartheid. The Comaroffs argue that:

“...in postcolonial South Africa, dramatic enactments of crime and punishments-both those disseminated by the state and those consumed by various publics- are not merely fabrications after the event; nor are they reflections, inflections, or refractions of a simple sociological reality. To the contrary they are a vital part of the effort to *produce* social order and to arrive at persuasive ways of representing it, thereby to construct a minimally coherent world in place; even more, to do so under neoliberal conditions in which technologies of governance-including technologies of detention and enforcement-are, at the very last, changing rapidly and, in some places, under dire threat.” (2006, p. 292).

The social order in the estate is guaranteed by the boom and the wall which become the container of the good oasis impregnable to external threats, even if permeated by macabre stories lived in a holiday setting. The residents of the estate use the internal talk of crime to justify their presence on the estate and the external talk of crime to stress their entitlement to a safe life.

Despite some difference in how crime is lived, spoken about and detailed, in both areas crime is tackled as one of the main issues to deal with, resulting in a different organization of space. In the next section I outline how the same institutions in the two areas are organized similarly but are lived and experienced differently by the residents.

6.2. From individual private to communal private: tactics for not losing control in and outside the walls

Caldeira (2001) discussing Sao Paulo as a city of walls stresses that crime and fear come with the democratic process. In South Africa the fear of crime coming with the aftermath of apartheid creates what Bremner describes as “Places of relegation linked to the terror and anxieties of living in a society freed from the boundaries of apartheid” (Bremner 2004b). The talk of crime contributes to creating a narrative of the country which also justifies the choice of moving into estates. It has been already discussed that many of the residents of the old suburb

have moved to Eagle Canyon after a severe incident such as armed robbery or house arrest. However, Jeff Gilmour from ARC claims that:

“People buy into an estate for security reasons and we call that the 24 hour need. Let’s face it, I buy into Eagle Canyon and I pay 35% more for my home, on average I buy for security reasons, the day I buy in the next morning my security need is gone, not so, otherwise why would I buy it. If you talk about your biological need is gone, what takes over after 3 months, that’s what we call the whinging. You know what whinging means, moaning and groaning, why must I pay my levy, why can’t my kid drive on the thing, why isn’t my garden being mowed, why, why, why. After that they generally become involved or they shut up. The next need takes over which is the value add need, it lasts forever.”

November 24th, 2011

The talk of crime and the order that it creates necessitates a system of damage control and the set of private security companies operating in the two areas are the main actors working towards the creation of a safe environment. Different systems of vigilantism and means of providing security are put in place across the different spaces. Informal settlements and townships often rely on informal institutions that escape from official control, such as extreme forms of vigilantism and a neighbourhood watch linked to the community policing forum. Open suburbs mostly rely on private security companies that at times co-operate with the police and the respective community policing forum. Equally, gated estates rely on their private security, managed by the HOA, which at times co-operates with the local police.

Jan Malan, a former policeman now director of Streetsafe Association⁵⁷ in Pretoria explains that in the 1980s and 1990s the neighbourhoods were protected by the South African Police⁵⁸ and the SA Defence Force Commandos⁵⁹. When in the early 2000s Commandos were dismantled the total protection duty fell on the SA Police. According to Malan, who represents the concerns of part of the white South African population who have lived in a perfect state of administration (see previous chapter) and security, the dismantling of the Commandos was a concurrent cause of high rates of criminality in the various neighbourhoods. The histories of crime described above, viewed in the transitional vein, do have a parallel with main structural changes of the South African society. In the process of democratisation, in which the SADF was substituted by the SANDF there has

⁵⁷Streetsafe is a South African company based in Pretoria providing private security to enclosed neighbourhoods.

⁵⁸The SA Police is a police force with the aim of ensuring law and order within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa.

⁵⁹The Commandos consisted of part time soldiers that were part of the SA Defence Force, but people that were area-bound because of the SA Defence Force uniforms, but they were disbanded by the new SA Government. Their structure was the same as the nine provinces, with sections of troops (10 man) organized into platoons, companies, battalions, groups, commands (one per province) all under Chief of the SA Army.

been an increase in private security companies. In October 2012 there were 9000⁶⁰ security companies registered, thus making South Africa the hub of the largest private security industry. Cock suggests that:

“The proliferation of small arms is partly the outcome of incomplete disarmament and demobilisation in post-conflict peace building. This has increased the supply of guns and maverick banditry throughout the region and represents a form of privatised militarisation. Besides the private-public tension, there is a tension between the local and the global: the increasing emphasis on arms exports from South Africa is, to some extent, a consequence of the reduction in domestic defence procurement...In addition, the ideology of militarism, which views violence as a legitimate solution to conflict and problems, remains intact.” (Cock 1998, p.3)

At the same time the new dispensation attempted to create a new body, that of the Community Policing Forum, in order to assist the police in maintaining security. Malan explains that the CPF was meant to replace the Commandos with SA Police Reservists (unpaid but trained civilians).

The CPF was instituted in 1995 and it came to life thanks to the South African Police Act, Section 18. It is run on a voluntary basis and it is organized in local stations, which report to the cluster, which then reports to the province. CPF are present in every local station but their function and their way of operating changes according to the area. It seems that less wealthy areas, not protected by private security companies are more involved in the activities of the CPF. In townships and in informal settlements the CPF is sometimes accompanied and synonymised with vigilantism. The role of the CPF is to assist the police for the benefit and well-being of the community. The chairman of the Fairlands Community Policing Forum explains that the main objectives are better communication between the police and the community, making sure that the police are accountable to the community for any problems and deepening the democratic state of the country. According to those involved in this activity, the CPF is an attempt for institutions to become more accountable to the people. The CPF serves many different purposes, according to the Chairman of the Fairland CPF (under which the suburb of Northcliff falls), the role of this institution is that of addressing moral issues of society: “we have to look at how we educate our children, issues at school, how do we influence our children to become better citizens. The CPF is like a culture that we are trying to create in communities, of respect, of law abiding citizens. (Interview with Northcliff CPF Chairman, April 2012). In the eyes of the chairman, an Indian and previously subjected to the racial laws of apartheid, the CPF is an important tool given to the residents to become part of the state and instead of being against it. The CPF, contrarily to the private security companies, proposes itself as a bridge between the residents

⁶⁰ http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=28306:south-africa-has-worlds-largest-private-security-industry-needs-regulation-mthethwa&catid=7:Industry&Itemid=116#comment-3076 (last accessed 20th August 2014)

and institutions, with its social and moral mission. However, the relationship between residents, the CPF and the private security companies in both areas is complex as they are often mediated by the talk of crime.

Figure 18. *Security in Eagle Canyon vs Security in Northcliff*

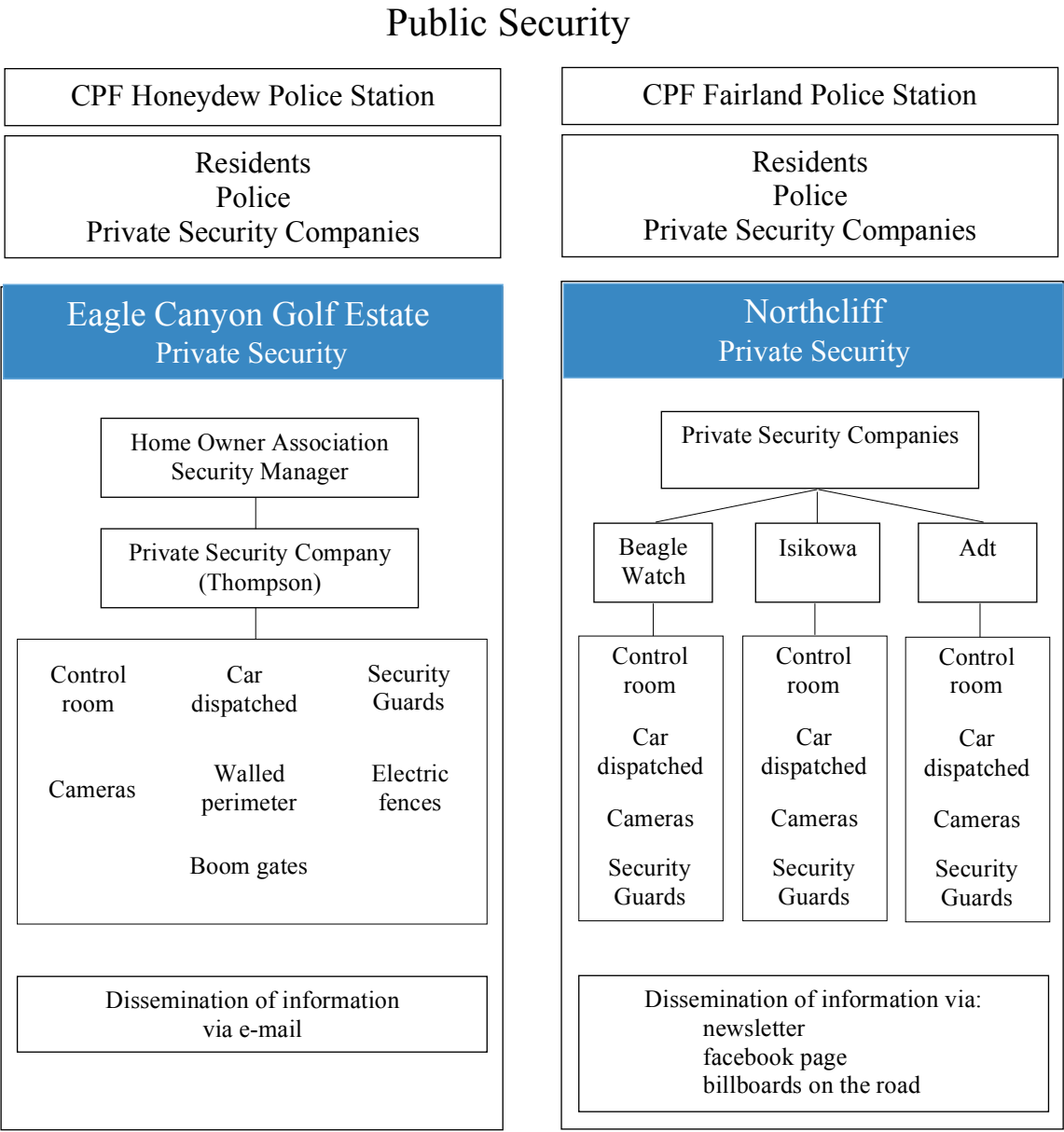
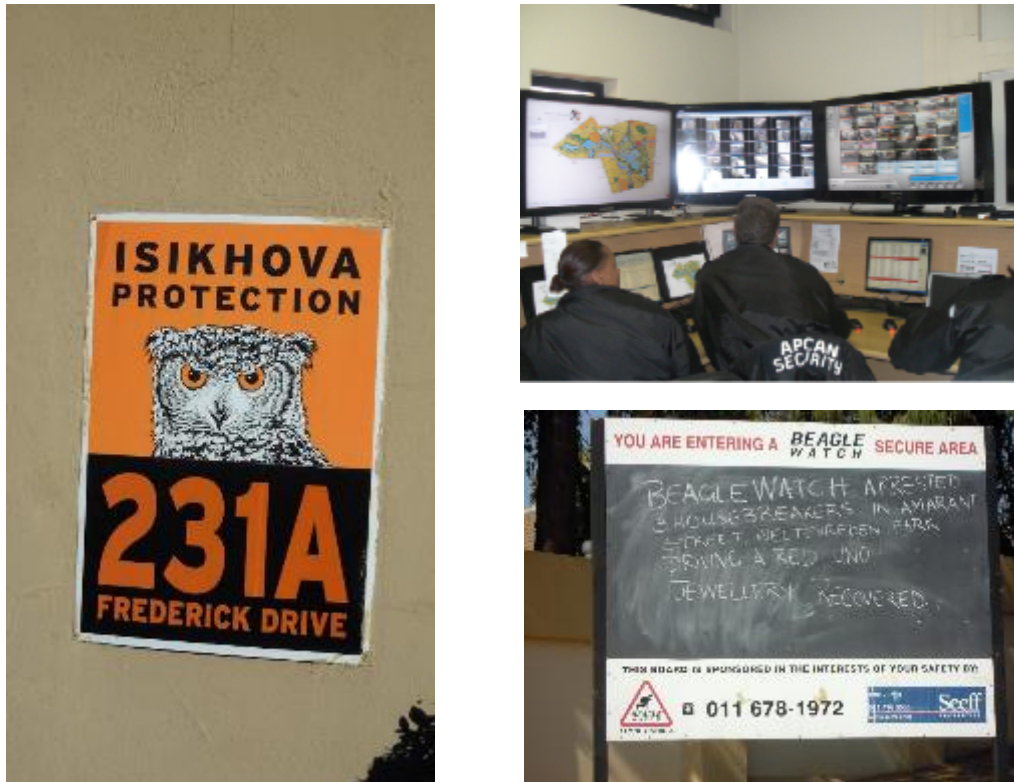


Figure 19. Private security company in Northcliff and advertisement. Control Room of Eagle



Canyon.

As the figure shows, the two areas rely on both public and private security. They belong to different community policing forums, attached to different police stations. However their formal functioning is the same. Meetings happen regularly once per month and are not well attended. Mostly personalities such as the ward councillors, delegates of a few security companies and a few policemen attend the meetings. Residents of the two areas provide different reasons for not being interested in the meetings. In Northcliff they are seen as “very political”, as something of the new dispensation and not particularly useful: “They are corrupted”, a resident of Northcliff claims.

“I believe his extended family is staying with him, if you look and you stand down here and you look up on Northcliff and you look at the biggest house, OK? It is three levels, that’s his house, drives the latest BMW, etcetera. You want to tell me he hasn’t got the money, he has fallen under desperate financial times and I mustn’t tell the neighbours and whatever. This is four and a half years later, he is still living there, you want to tell me he can’t afford it, who is he bullshitting? So no he is a big hero of ‘now I am the chairman of the policing forum there’, what support do you think he has in the suburb here? What do you think? Zero!”

Interview with Isikhova
private security manager

November 12th, 2012

The manager of the private security company describes the connection between the lack of confidence and lack of the trust in the institutions, using the non supportive attitude of the private initiative – such as that of the private security by the chairman of the CPF. The talk of crime, hijackings and house arrests is of great importance in this case, where those that do not support the private initiative are somehow responsible for the decay of the suburb. Even if a bit exaggerated, the position above presented, represents that of the ordinary Northcliff resident. However, this is not the overall view. The ward councillors genuinely believe that their mission is to protect the citizens and taking part in the CPF means contributing to the functioning of the state machine. Residents such as Breckenridge, one of the few attending the meetings, have always been involved in community questions:

L. B.: You know, prior to the CPF; prior to 1994, we had a...what was the arrangement here? We used to do patrolling on a regular basis. Two hours at a time. Driving our motorcars around.

I: the residents?

L.S.: Yes.

I.: Privately?

L.B: Yes. In conjunction with the police, of course. We used to start at the police station. And it was called “Blockwatch”. So we used to do this Blockwatch and that I would guess goes back twenty years.

I: Did you have a need for that, or did you just... for a corrective...

L.B: Ja, it was a priority. There are reasons why Northcliff is safer than some of the other suburbs. The residents... a few residents are conscious of this. And it doesn't take too many residents showing an interest to make the place safer.

Breckenridge explains that in the past residents were active agents of transformation thanks to the Block Watch and that the CPF is somehow the equivalent of that institution.

Carmel Wassman, from the Honeydew CPF, laments that residents and managers approach the CPF only when problems arise. In Honeydew the presence of estates and complexes is high and their representatives do not formally co-operate with the CPF. A police precinct such as that of Honeydew is of course different from that of Northcliff. There are obvious reasons for it. Fairland is a wealthy well-resourced precinct, with relatively low rates of crime. The national crime statistics from 2004 to 2011 show that the precinct of Honeydew features as the seventh most criminal suburb in South Africa, while looking at the Gauteng province, where Johannesburg is located, in 2014

Honeydew ranks as the second most dangerous precinct after Johannesburg Central⁶¹. Eagle Canyon is positioned right in the middle of Honeydew; however interestingly residents of the estate are not concerned about it. In Chapter 3 I described the type of residents that are happy with the estate, but do not like the area. The tight control put in place inside Eagle Canyon creates a safe space both inside and in the outer perimeter of the estate (a security car patrols it 24/7), thus residents of Eagle Canyon do not see the importance of attending the meetings as their crime problem is solved by the management of the estate.

A big chunk of the population in both areas is not aware of the CPF. Residents of Northcliff are more aware of it and they receive the information through the Northcliff/Melville Times (a weekly paper delivered on Tuesday at the door), but no one is really interested in attending, as they know that the ward councillor will inform them. Residents of Eagle Canyon also received the information through the similar newspaper, the Roodepoort Times (delivered at the gate of the estate and picked up by whoever is interested upon entrance). Furthermore, residents of the estate also receive on a regular basis a crime bulletin from the HOA of the estate.

The discussion over the CPF has revealed one of the main critical issues, namely the relationship with public institutions. Residents of the two areas adopt strategies to disengage from this system of damage control of crime. The moral and political twist given to the CPF by its promoters is not accepted as valid and real by the residents who contrarily choose to sign a contract with private security companies in both areas.

The action of the private security certainly has a strong effect on the way residents live and perceive their positions in space, stressing the difference between individual privacy and communal privacy.

“Its private and we were able to build high walls around the property and that one other reason why I didn’t want to go to a security complex. We actually considered that at a certain stage but the kids were in high school then and they busy and I’ve got 1 daughter and 3 sons and we’ve got a dog and 3 cats and I wanted like a normal homey farm, bit of farm concept and I believe and I still believe it except for some certain smallish security complexes, I think it’s safer to live on your own on a small property, with your own electric fence, your own one gate and you know who comes in and who goes out and to my belief to live in

⁶¹www.crimestatssa.com show that in 2014 in Honeydew there have been 13561 crimes, of which 69 were attempted murder, 755 were common assaults, 235 common robbery, 1008 robbery with aggravating circumstances, 850 malicious injury to property, 1756 burglary at residential premises, 647 theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle, 1455 theft out of or from motor vehicle, 76 unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition, 2612 all other thefts, 626 commercial crime, 487 shoplifting, 391 robberies at residential premises, 102 robberies at non-residential premises, 35 culpable homicides, 18 public violence, 68 crimen injuria.

some of these huge, like Eagle Canon, I will never feel safe there as I feel here. Because at Eagle Canon there is always building going on the people, now see this is what I believe.

Think that they safe and they have wonderful security and they pay extremely high levies but they've got strange builders and tilers and plumbers who come in and out there every day. How can you live there and think that you safe? I'm much safer than them because I don't have someone building a little house or something in the corner of my property. I know exactly when the gate opens; I can see who is there and in South Africa that's important"

Interview with Renata
resident of Northcliff
May 15th, 2012

"Ducan, the manager of the estate, is extremely tired of his job. Today he was having a chat with Hewish, the security manager, at the clubhouse. They were sipping a glass of whiskey and as I was walking past they stopped me to have a chat. We ended up chatting for hours. The clubhouse was strangely packed and a few feeling of frustration, as usual caught me. Duncan stressed over and over that in this country it is not possible to trust anyone, even the waiters of the clubhouse cannot be trusted. He said in front of one of them, without thinking that it was impolite. Then he motivated his choice of not living in Eagle Canyon. Besides being a totalizing experience, he believes that where he lives he can get the same amount of security. He proudly talks of his suburb, Randpark Ridge, between Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, as one of best managed in terms of security. The security company is extremely good, they provide a great service of escorting residents that arrive late at home to the gate, wait for their gate to open and for them to get inside safe. To him this security service is indeed up to the estate standard."

Fieldnote
April 12th, 2011

"Today Lyn was really enthusiast about the control room of Eagle Canyon. She said that the service that she received made her feel very good. She went there to complain about a flag that dropped on the roof of her house. Someone must have thrown it there and she wanted to know how the story went. She contacted the control room and she went there to look at the footage. She was impressed by the number of cameras and by the professionalism of the guards there who made her feel safe and not silly for going there to complain about a very irrelevant fact."

Fieldnote
July 23rd, 2011

These three fieldnotes talk about different ways of relating to the private security. Renata, who lives in Eagle Canyon does not acknowledge at all its action as she wants to be responsible for anything that happens around her property. In Eagle Canyon residents do not have the freedom of choosing who to let in the estate, as this is the duty of the guards at the entrance. For Renata, the individual private wall coincides with her property and she is in charge of its safety.

Duncan has a somewhat different take on the life in the suburb. He likes to stress that it is thanks to the highly efficient private security company that he can actually enjoy the standard of safety of the estate. Taking the idea that the individual wall coincides with the property that needs to be protected, Duncan acknowledges the importance of a good security system.

Finally in Eagle Canyon, in line with the double talk of crime previously described, security and safety are strictly linked to the action of the control room (managed by a private security company). Here the individual private wall coincides with the property. As noted previously though, entrance to the estate is not open to everyone, thus it is the protection of the communal private wall – that of the collective entrance to the estate – which determines the feeling of safety.

A high level of security does not make people more open and willing to share their lifestyle. In fact the communal private wall of Eagle Canyon contains a series of individual private walls, and the private space of the residents is not easily open to visitors, even when safety is secured. In this sense there is not much different from the open suburb. The efficiency and reliability of the private security companies (community oriented), is certainly one of the most important aspects: residents take the meticulous organization of security as something necessary but debatable. In the suburb they rely on the security companies, but they also take action, and they know that they are liable for anything that might happen. Many residents of the suburb think of the security of complexes as a false sense of security, while in the golf estate a daily life free of concern continues between the swing of macabre stories and sips of wine by the golf course.

Having outlined the functioning of the security, it seems evident that there is something more important at stake. The spaces created in the two areas also forge different ways in which residents articulate racial and gender relations in differently controlled spaces.

6.3. Organizing disorder: re-constructing the perfect order

The systems put in place in the two areas in order to maintain safety reflect important societal aspects and reinforce the notion of living a good and safe life. The estate is able to provide safety thanks to a tight system of control guaranteed also by the physical barriers (the communal private wall), while in the suburb this is more nuanced due to the lack of these communal walls and to the presence of individual walls which are not necessarily synchronised. In this last section I am going to describe how the talk of crime and the organization put into place by both public and private institutions to deal with this crime, are entrenched with issues of gender, race and class and how the residents of the two areas accept it as the standard of good living in a crime free community, but also how they are imbued with some of the conditions of apartheid. In this section the shift from living in a controlled society as determined by the apartheid state to living in a controlled environment as a choice of the individual is detailed. As it has been articulated in the previous sections of this chapter, the emergence and the appreciation of the private security has been presented as the consequence of the process of transformation of the country. The talk of crime, the effects of

crime and the efforts put in place to fight against it also represent the wish of the residents to live in a perfect way, that somehow resonates with that of the apartheid era. The suburb of Northcliff was a safe one, there were no electric fences, walls or alarms. Arguably though, the South African apartheid regime was based on a military state (Cock and Nathan 1989). Control, violence and surveillance were quite strong, as the case of the Peri Urban Health Board has shown. Residents during apartheid did not necessarily choose to live under that regime, while interestingly nowadays they look for it and want it back without the racial segregation. Northcliff residents speak with nostalgia of the past, as do Eagle Canyon residents, especially their concerns about the freedom that they had and their uncontested access to a safe life.

Safety and security of the white population was guaranteed, prohibiting the presence of the black intruder if not for working purposes. Goffman talks of the total institution as: “A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, normally administered round of life. (1961, p. xiii)

He proceeds saying that: “total institutions usually have a rehabilitating finality, they try to rehabilitate the self so that, once the patient leaves it, he will automatically maintain the values—often the patient ends up changing, but not in the way desired by the staff”. There is a strong analogy between the notion of the total institution, the way in which not “losing control” of the situation is intended and the continuity between the suburb and the estate. Following Balibar: “The relationship between justice and injustice is one of order versus disorder, therefore a critique of what presents itself as order can only escape the reproach of bringing in disorder by demonstrating its capacity to bring about a superior order, or a genuine order, or an order that is not only apparent but real... What makes injustice unacceptable and unbearable is not – or not only – the suffering that it causes, but the disorder that it produces” (Balibar 2007, 19). In this section I demonstrate how the estate presents itself as the total institution in which the superior order is guaranteed when compared to the one outside. The same order was guaranteed by the apartheid state and is now blurred in the open suburb. Choosing to live this ordered life, residents also shift from a dictated control to a voluntary one.

6.3.1. Assessing ordered gender, control and authority.

“We bought a house here because I work all week long, my wife is at home and she needs to be safe. It is a safe environment here. It is nice.”

Interview with John
resident of Eagle Canyon
June 12th, 2011

It is not unusual to hear comments such as the above. The estate is a family place, where children and families can enjoy a good lifestyle. In the estate the

current talk of crime previously described is also linked to gender dynamics. Women are usually happy to narrate that they are safe at home, even when their husbands are away, and men are relieved to say that if they are not there to take care of the family while away for business trips, the estate will do it.

The estate represents the most protection that can be provided to residents. In this case it represents and reproduces the good order that was in vogue during apartheid, when women would feel free to be at home alone. In this case order in the estate becomes also about control over women who spend much of their time at home (sometimes occupied in recreational activities), and when they go out they do it mostly for errands or family matters. The order is provided by a masculine system of governance: not only the estate acts as the family man, but also most of the members of the management are men. This creates order based on a system in which the position of men and females is extremely strict and creates disorder when it is not maintained.

“Firstly I said I wanted to go to Rosebank for the night, so he offered to escort me there with his car, as he thought it would be dangerous for me to go alone. Hewish (the security manager) wants to stay at the clubhouse and doesn’t really want to go home, as a matter of fact he wants to tell me as much as possible about how he deals with security. He said he will show me the control room and will make me tour around with the security cars. He is a security man, that is what he keeps telling and he also says that many people that have been working in the police go work as bodyguards in Iraq. That’s what many of his friends have done. He wants to become a bodyguard, as it would represent an improvement for his career. He was a policeman before and somehow he keeps doing the job now. He shows me how his life is strongly determined by the rhythm of the security work. His phone is connected to the control room and he gets immediately contacted if anything happens. He likes when I talk about the West Rand and tonight he decided to take me on a special tour. To him the West Rand is about Afrikaans culture, this is why, when the clubhouse closes, he drags me to a specifically Afrikaner club, Sunset Rock, and he keeps repeating: I will show you the West Rand. Along the way I try to memorize the road, just to understand where I am going and he keeps repeating that I shouldn’t worry because he’s a “security man”. He usually doesn’t go to that pub, but the owner is his friend, but the place is rough, there are lesbians, he says. Tonight is karaoke night. I get chips and he gets an egg on stake. He convinces me dance sakie sakie and I am uncomfortable.”

Fieldnote
April 19th, 2011

The above fieldnote explains aptly the role of gender in creating order. The security manager wants to point out that with him there are no problems, both inside and outside the estate

The roughness of the place is exemplified by the fact that a different gendered order is expressed: lesbians create roughness and disorder. As a matter of fact, many of the single women living in the estate do not like to go there specifically due to the disorder provoked by the lesbians. On the contrary they

are not scared of going out to other pubs where standard behaviour is predictable.

Sunset Rock is then a rough place, not only for being in the far West Rand. To the eyes of the residents, it is rough because it also reverses the gender dynamics that are established on the estate. Men have different explanations as to why it is so: “the last few times I went out at Sunset Rock there was a fight, those lesbians are rough”, says Joanna (conversation of 20th April 2011) when she knows that I have been there, lesbians are a threat to her. Hewish, the security manager, represents the masculine side, and roughness to him is more linked to the fact that women are out of control and they are not in a domesticated area, such as that of the estate. The woman in the estate is under control and even if the same situations might occur there, it is seen as safer and more secure because it is directly controllable and in the end it merely forms part of the internal gossip.

“The monthly lucky draw is always fun, today it was also very wild. I stayed until the end as there was a big group of Indian families there. I had a chat with them, but it was late, some of them had left, they were drunk but two strange things happened: first a girl asked me if I wanted to go out with her to a nearby disco, I refused because I was tired, and shortly after, before I went home, a middle age man offered me 100 rands (9 euros) in exchange of sex.”

Fieldnote
October 23rd, 2011

Living in such an ordered space, going out of the estate is always seen as an adventure, especially for women. Furthermore, as the fieldnote exposes, the role and the position of the woman inside the estate is also quite defined. While the *consumption* of alcohol is very high among men and women, drinking alcohol in public and staying out late is a deviation to the gendered order, thus interpreted as something different. The same system of order is not put in place in Northcliff, where women share the same position as those of Eagle Canyon, but where they do not have a sophisticated system of spatial control and where the family man keeps being the husband, with the private security company there to call on, and not the estate control. The suburb however sees itself as an ordered space, where the residents determine order and control.

6.3.2. Race makes order and order makes justice

Order and control also have racial spatial connotations. I have already shown how the estate represents a new environment of the city and that this is also based on class dynamics (Chapter Four). The good management of the estate is related to a masculine culture and it is in line with the continuity of a tradition of control in the country. As during apartheid the black workers needed to be policed with the Pass Laws, in contemporary South Africa the black workers are policed by both the management of the estate or by the action of the

private security companies in the suburb, creating a line of continuity with the past, yet with a difference. In the estate there is full control of what happens inside (see Section 6.1), while in the suburb the private security companies have no authority to police. This is why residents in the suburb are more encouraged to talk to the domestic workers. In this regard, the manager of Isikhova Security Company speaks about the bush telegraph that: “works when the ladies that work for us, talk to their friends, which talk to their friends. It is called the bush telegraph, ok” (interview with Isikhova Security Manager, 13th November 2012). The racial connotation of the bush telegraph is more than obvious, workers (black) gossip and talk and as they are considered to be the source of the problems (Fairlands police station estimates that 80% of crime is linked to inside information), in the suburb private security companies and the CPF⁶² want to turn them into the possible solution to it. Arguably, the connection between crime and the presence of domestic workers, gardeners and builders in the suburb is more about the reshuffling of the order of the space, and about the difficulty in maintaining control.

The space in the suburb becomes less readable (Lynch 1973): open parks, scaffolding, and construction are likely to become nests of criminal activities. Again, similarly to the nature of racial comments described in Chapter 4, residents of the suburb express openly their aversion to black workers in the streets. These issues are certainly present on the estate, however, they are dealt with differently. The problems with the staff are dealt with by the management: the tight control⁶³ allows the residents to be open about their dislike for their staff, but also not to worry about them walking in the streets of the estate, where they are under close surveillance. To the residents, the estate remains readable and safe, while insecurity and danger are re-directed to the outside, referring to any space of the city. The residents thus see in the action of the HOA the agency that creates a just order.

6.3.3. The estate as the nanny: accepting the pre-established order and its predictability in developing freedom

Chipkin discussing the townhouse complexes argues that more than control itself, residents mostly long for predictability and order. In fact the confusion and the chaos linked to the talk of crime is usually addressed by the necessity of living in a safe and secure place. Chipkin, looking at a townhouse complex of the West Rand points out that:

⁶²Various police stations lately have instituted the Domestic Watch, where domestics can go and learn about crime and how to report it to the relevant institutions.

⁶³Most workers have to undergo a polygraph test before they can get security clearance and an access card; they are searched anytime they go in and out by the guards of the estate to check that they are not bringing dangerous material in and stolen goods out.

“Township complexes in Roodepoort, organised as condominiums or in terms of the Sectional Title Act, are sites of common place legality or the legality of what I have called ordinary life. Townhouse complexes elaborate social order in the day-to-day transactions of their residents. They are thus post-apartheid locations in an ordinary sense .”

2013, 16

One of the ways to face chaos and unpredictability of the city and of the country is that of adhering to the rule of the body corporate of townhouse complexes, where the body corporate creates “spaces of legality”, to use Chipkin’s expression. By extension, this could be said of Eagle Canyon. The HOA tries to create a space in which people feel treated in a fair way, where events and actions, be they organized or not, follow a protocol. Problems, both with crime and with communal living, are dealt with in a professional and neutral way. In Chapter Five I have discussed how the estate creates the perfect administrative system. Equally as far as order is concerned, residents accept control and surveillance in order to be free. The relationship between freedom and control is better explained by the desire for a perfect lifestyle and by the idea of a society free of crime. Freedom is understood differently in the two areas: “we are here for the lifestyle, you have the freedom here, you are free to do whatever you like, when you enter the gate you feel free” (conversation with Marc, resident of Eagle Canyon, 12th February 2012). On the contrary residents of Northcliff feel that they are living the real freedom:

“Here in Northcliff every morning I can drive another little road to keep me and bring me to where I want to go. Eagle Canyon – fantastic, beautiful homes but you walk in there and you almost feel like everybody is for themselves and here I feel I have freedom to be inspirational, to be innovative, to reach out, to be three dimensional, I can look onto, onto, onto and maybe it is different in some of those areas, I haven’t stayed in one of those areas but I think it would give me a sense of comfort there that I almost think I depend on only myself and I don’t think you depend on only yourself, you depend on others as well, and this opens the doors for you to know your neighbours, you know in a different sense but I think psychologically for me, it is not that I am behind walls, even if my house has got a high wall, maybe or a high gate, I don’t feel I am ring fenced and I swim in this dam, I feel here I am in the sea, I am not in a dam, that is just me.”

Interview with Annemarie
resident of Northcliff
December 7th, 2012

The ideal of freedom is not the same in the two areas. In Eagle Canyon it is more linked to lifestyle and to the manifestation of a crime free society, while in Northcliff it is linked to a way of being, to the freedom of not having to follow rules of a system. However, digging into the narratives of freedom in the estate, a more nuanced meaning to the notion is found. Here, thanks to the action of surveillance residents are able to create a space of freedom detached from the

innovation and inspiration of Northcliff. Residents of the estate are in fact able to create a space in which freedom is about drinking and driving, not following the rules of the road, possessing illegal arms, or leading irregular businesses.

In the estate, the materiality of the wall becomes the necessary tool to activate feelings of freedom: “I am very happy to be here. It’s like you drive through the gate you on holiday. It’s a very nice feeling” (Interview with Rosemary, resident of Eagle Canyon, 14th November 2011). Being on holiday not only means sipping wine by the golf course, it also means being able to drink and drive: “I am not going out anymore, it is not safe at night, especially if you drink, better to drink here, there are no cops”. The estate manager explains that possession of guns follows the same pattern as well as irregular businesses, even though these were not found during the period of the observation. While the estate fines residents that do not follow rules and regulation, it cannot fine those that drink and drive, those that do not put their seatbelts on, unless they cause material damage to other people or to the properties. Only in this sense the estate can be considered a bubble, a space in which the residents withdraw from the contract with the state by virtue of which a degree of freedom is obtained. Here also lies the difference between the control of the suburb and that of the estate. In Northcliff there is no such “safe space”, there is no communal wall that allows for the freedom of breaking the law, and this is what makes the space disordered and unjust in the eyes of the residents of the estate. Surveillance and control are then accepted as vehicles to a certain degree of freedom. Talking about surveillance allows one to see firstly a difference between what happens in the estate and what happens in the suburb. In the estate the control room gives the residents the guarantee of an order, thus of the possibility of doing what outside is not accepted, because the remedy to any inconvenience is secured by the guards. This is why on the estate people do not only ask for security, but they also ask for surveillance. In this respect the estate seems to reproduce an efficiency of the apartheid system, with the need for close surveillance at every moment. Often during conversations with the residents, pride in the number of cameras around the estate is shown. As a matter of fact not much can go wrong inside the space (the control room records everything and the cameras are being watched constantly). The suburb alternatively rejects the lack of privacy of the estate and the presence of the body of governance that regulates people’s lives, though it does not reject a form of indirect surveillance provided by private security companies.

In the transformation of the country a spatialized surveillance and perception of risk is implied. This question, in South Africa, is of course linked to its past. The surveillance to be found in the township is clearly different from the one found in the suburbs, as well as a different form of policing community. In this transformation what is at stake is who is part of the new South Africa and who is not. In the suburbs the talk of crime is connected to and evocated by the idea of an ordered and secure society. Surveillance goes hand in hand with the “quantifacts” described by the Comaroffs :

“The Neo South Africa, like most nation-states today, produces its own avalanche of numbers. The tide of statistics made publicly available by the police

service is swelled, in this age of neoliberalism, by the ever more state-like exertions of nongovernmental organizations and the private sector. Those figures feed a thoroughly modernist “lust for precision” (Hacking 1990: 5), a fervid faith in the panacea of probability, and a populist sense that countering disorder begins with counting it properly. It is hardly surprising, then, that the crime statistic has taken on unprecedented sovereignty in this postcolony... There is, it appears, a proportional relationship between the generality of a quantifact and its capacity to travel as knowledge”. (Comaroffs 2006, p.211-220)

This knowledge produced by the highly regulated estate is what conveys the idea of order and, what produces the understanding of crime. In such a situation, dominated by the imaginary of crime, the talk of crime becomes conceived as the production of social order.

6.4. Conclusion: discussing the shift to being voluntarily controlled to enjoying the just order

When talking to residents of the estate, the security question comes up quite regularly: “well, we need security”, the mantra goes. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the secure lifestyle of the estate seems to prevail over the unappealing character of the area and over the stigma attached to it. Safety and security though are not only related strictly to high rates of crime. It is related to the overall well being of the person and of the family, and finally it is associated with a well run and reliable environment. An ordered and well-managed space is what residents seek, though on the other hand it is also important to note that Northcliff and Eagle Canyon have a different idea of what a safe space is. In this last chapter I have also raised questions of physical separation. While I have concluded Chapter Three talking about how the position of the estate and its materiality do not create a deeper spatial segregation, in this chapter I further explain the role of the wall in connection with freedom and surveillance, revealing how it creates an ordered and free space thanks to its surveillance and how this freedom is mostly linked to the possibility of not following the law.

Talking of gated communities as the manifestation of the militarization of space is not accurate in the South African context, where the gated community finds its legacy in the white suburb of apartheid, which was highly secured and militarised, yet without visible walls. The estate represents a new formula of control, it represents a totally new institution thanks to which loosing control of the situation is impossible; where the predictability and safety experienced during apartheid are being reproduced with the novelty of the communal private wall, visible and material. The residents agree to control and surveillance in order to find the just order inside the estate, an order that the contemporary suburb is not able to provide.

7.

Chapter Seven

“I do research.” “Oh research, I see, so what is your business?”

A guide to becoming resident of a gated and a non-gated suburb in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Two elite spaces, one gated and one not. They are historically connected and they belong to the same socio-political tradition. Yet they represent a different South African landscape and they see themselves in contradiction to each other. In this chapter I illustrate how the work has been carried out and how the research has gained consistency, providing an understanding of the path and the “how” of my research. I have left the methodological description to the last chapter as it elucidates some of the mechanisms previously described and it blends general discussion over participant observation and qualitative research with the processes that led me to interpret the findings in the way I have in the course of the work.

The title to this chapter informs on the difficulty of positioning myself in the field. One example of this difficulty is described by the exchange of sentences I would normally have when meeting the respondents: to the question posed by most of them “what do you do?” and to my answer “research”, what would usually follow would be the question: “what is your business then?”. This initiation to the field informs on two different aspects: on the one hand it does speak to the importance of business in the environment that I worked in and experienced. On the other hand it helps understand how I have been able to access the field and somehow anticipates the ambiguities of living and researching in a space in which I was seen at times as a resident, at times as a researcher and at times as a professional, depending on the person I would be talking to. Positioning myself in the South African context and in Johannesburg has been a difficult task ever since I stepped into the country. The articulation of race, class and space in many areas of the country is predictable and it follows a strict pattern, mostly informed by its historical trajectory. This chapter looks at the process that I have gone through in order to get the research going. Being a qualitative work, mainly based on participant observation, I will focus on the processes of “entering the estate and entering the suburb and of becoming a resident”, which, as will be shown, has been extremely problematic and constitutes some of the findings of the research. Ethnographic work in gated settlements is lacking, with a few exceptions (Low 2003; Durrington 2006), due to the difficulty of entering a gated and walled space. This lacuna has made the task difficult and exciting at the same time. Some of the difficulty was linked to the absence of any model I could refer to, but which also provided excitement in exposing me to new research. In the next sections I will also refer to how navigating the different spaces of the city of Johannesburg has directed me towards a relational and comparative understanding of the city, historically and spatially informed. I thus re-map the city that has been presented so far through my experience of it.

This research has shown that in order to give meaning to the knowledge of

this type of habitation, close observation is needed, especially in these luxurious and elitist environments. It will be shown how the two spaces have been picked, how I have designed the research in the field, my role and my position: I will refer to personal and institutional factors that have made the research possible and I will discuss how they have been relevant to the research process. the importance of comparing and understanding the real differences and finally the relevance of “studying up” (Nader 1972). The variety of data collected will also be discussed, in order to further clarify the material exposed in the previous chapters. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows: I will briefly discuss the importance of comparing and looking at space relationally and I will then describe the different phases of the research, highlighting the process of becoming a resident of the two areas, thus the choice of the “right gate” and the “right community” and how it became seen as the “just” space. The initial part of the research was conducted from February 2011 until December 2012 and it has mainly taken part in Eagle Canyon. As shown in Chapter 1 observations in the first site suggested the comparative site: the suburb of Northcliff. Close observation in this latter area started in February 2012 and it continued until December 2012, at times overlapping with observations in Eagle Canyon, in order to further clarify and reveal the differences and the relationship between the two areas.

7.1. Studying the good and just socio-spatial relations in the city: space and time on the move

In Chapter 1, I have outlined the connection between the two areas and introduced the relevance of the relational approach. This work rests vastly on comparison and it looks at spaces relationally. In order to understand how the good life is produced, maintained, perceived and considered as just and fair within the context of an urban space, I have looked at how these issues have developed in South Africa both historically and spatially. The research has been carried out adopting a comparative perspective within the city (McFarlane 2010), a cosmopolitan approach to the study of the city and to urban studies. When looking at cities it is important to frame them globally, but it is also crucial to look at the local scale, this is why Johannesburg has been studied historically, to point out the connections of the old continent in the past with the ideal of the garden city, and in the present, with the ideal of the World Class African City.

The aim of the comparison was to look at the main characteristics of two different areas, which have already been described. Those areas have been chosen for two interconnected reasons: the possibility of access to Eagle Canyon (which will be explained in the next section) and its connection to Northcliff. Taking into account two areas roughly sharing the same socio-demographic characteristics has enabled me to isolate the most relevant characteristics and features of the two areas, leading me to the final argument.

Sassen (2012) suggests that in order to understand a phenomenon, it is crucial to look at its counterpart. In the case of the affluent gated community I have looked at the open suburb. One way to understand what “difference” it

makes to live in such spaces is to look at them in a comparative way. What should then be explored would be the differences between an open suburb and a structurally gated settlement (understood as suburb). These two different spaces should not be seen as separate entities, rather it is quite important to read them in a relational and interactive way and should be used to explore the social and the political systems that are in place. As already noted, the role of institutions such as that of the Homeowners Association has been crucial in understanding how hopes, wishes, needs and expectations are channelled and modelled in the golf estate. The interaction with residents and their space has been informed by the notion of articulation by Hall, which is a “‘complex structure’: a structure in which things are related, as much through their differences as through their similarities. This requires that the mechanisms which connect dissimilar features must be shown—since no ‘necessary correspondence’ or expressive homology can be assumed as given. It also means—since the combination is a structure (an articulated combination) and not a random association—that there will be structured relations between its parts, i.e. relations of dominance and subordination” (1996, 115). For this work I have looked at the complex structure and at the system put in place by dominant and elite actors of society, meeting Nader’s suggestion of studying up against studying the underdog. As Shone and Nugent suggest (2002), I have come to understand how elites operate and maintain their status. The areas I have been looking at are predominantly white spaces. However I have adopted what Brubaker has referred to as beyond groupism (2002). Groupism is “the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis”, he furthers the analysis, “in the domain of ethnicity, nationalism and race, I mean by “groupism” the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations and races as substantial entities to which interest and agency can be attributed” (p. 164). Talking of white spaces, I have always tried to articulate race, gender and class with space in order not to consider white groups as a monolithic entity. The study of white spaces in South Africa is often linked to the Afrikaans culture⁶⁴. A heated debate over the nature of ethnography and observation in South Africa started at the University of Cape Town by Nyamnjoh (2013), in which there was a call to reconsider ethnographic research in the country warning against studying the black native. This debate contributes in a fresh way to the understanding of South Africa from an elite point of view and it has relied on articulation of race, gender and class with space. Looking at the movement (both spatial and temporal – see Introduction and Chapter One), required adopting a dynamic mode of observation. Ingold and Lee (2006) state that a particular way of rendering visible moments, places and nexuses is the action of walking, a form of participation during the research: to participate is not to walk into but to walk *with* – where *with* implies not a face-to face confrontation, but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats behind (Ingold and Lee 2006, p. 67), and Kusenbach, who highlights the benefits of the go-along as a research method in ethnography, suggesting that it is a suitable method to explore five important

⁶⁴ For a detailed analysis see Van Der Waal (2002) Kriel (2002) Davies (2002).

themes: environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms, yielding to a much more articulated knowledge than participatory observations and interviews by sharing the spatial practices of the informants blended in with hidden experiences and making “visible and intelligible how everyday experience transcends the here and now, as people weave previous knowledge and biography into immediate situated action” (2003, p. 478). Comprehending the role of walking in a certain community is also important in the process of understanding the paths of a sedimented community. The method of the go-along has been used widely in the research. Despite the lack of walking practices, my methodology has been vastly informed by the dynamism of the go-along, which has often been experienced not on foot, but while driving. This has informed me about the different ways in which the city was described and perceived by the residents vis à vis their habitation, their past, their present and their aspirations.

7.2. Phases of the research

The research has been carried out over the period of three years. In February 2011 I started looking for a place to stay in a gated community. The process was long and difficult, and I found a room in a townhouse in the golf estate of Eagle Canyon where I moved to in April 2011. Observation in Eagle Canyon was carried out until the end of the year 2011, after which I moved to Northcliff, where I spent most of the year 2012.

Thanks to my observations I was able, from the beginning, to separate the main axes of the research, and more particularly I was able to separate relevant institutions that regulate social practices of the good and just life.

Table 9. *Phases of the research*

Period	Phase	Activities
January-April 2011	Deep exploration of the city	Driving and walking in the suburbs of the city and meticulous understanding of the different kinds of gated communities and suburbs
April-December 2011	Resident of Eagle Canyon	Attending managers meetings and taking part in the social life of the estate Socio-historical study of the neighborhood.
December 2011-February 2012	Transition phase	First analysis of data
March- November 2012	Resident of Northcliff	Attending meetings (CPF), interacting with residents of the suburb, taking part in activities.
February-November 2013	Resident of Yeoville	Analysis of data—understanding the real difference between Eagle Canyon and Northcliff. Return to the field when needed.

The initial phase consisted of a thorough exploration of the city both by car and on foot. This time was extremely important, as it helped frame the research. During this phase I also came to understand the relevance of movement in what is considered a safe space and the terms of this movement. This initial phase also required me to buy a car in order to be able to move freely at any given time of the day. In April 2011 I officially became a resident of the estate, after a long process of negotiation (which will be described in the next sections). Moving to Eagle Canyon I started to understand and read the city of Johannesburg with a different lens. I started to see the city centre both physically and symbolically and I started to analyse the internal system of the estate, putting much effort into understanding the administrative functioning of the estate and its meaning to the residents. Having become a resident myself helped me to have conversations with the residents, as we were sharing the same issues. The first months were intensive: I rarely left the estate and I explored further the West Rand. Towards the end of the year I started making contacts with residents of Northcliff, where I spent the year 2012. The negotiation of the field was less problematic in Northcliff (see next section), however looking for a flat was more difficult as there was no central management to deal with. The year spent in Northcliff was always informed by the previous observations in Eagle Canyon. Yet the difficulty of the observation became apparent as soon as I realized I had no contact person that could help me navigate the space. In Eagle Canyon I could easily go to the Homeowners Association building and I could request as much information as needed, while Northcliff was more dispersed, its borders more blurred. The relational comparative approach has been useful as it provided me

with insights on the relationship between the suburb of Northcliff and the city centre, reconfiguring my position further. The following tables describe the activities with which I engaged in Eagle Canyon and Northcliff.

Table 10. *Social sphere: being good and worthy*

Activity	When	Activity	When
Pilates Class (Private house)	April 2011-November 2012	Ballet at the recreation centre	March-November 2012
Scrapbooking class (private house)	July- November 2011	xxx	xxx
Weekly run in the golf course organized by the Gym of Eagle Canyon	May-November 2011	Weekly run in the neighbourhood (self organized)	March-November 2012
Attended social events at the Clubhouse	February-November 2012	Attended social events at the Country Club and Tennis Club of Northcliff	March-November 2012
		Attended Rotary Club and Lions Club meetings	March-November 2012
Attended golf events at the Clubhouse	February-November 2012	Attended Golf events at the Randpark Ridge Golf Club	March-November 2012
Offered Italian Classes (private house)	May-September 2011	Assist family with hairdressing business at home	April-July 2012

Table 11. *Institutional/Administrative sphere: being efficient and committed*

Activity	When	Activity	When
Attended Managers Meetings	April-November 2011		March-November 2012
Attended Board Meetings			
Attended AGM and EGM of the estate and of the complexes inside			
Read reports of the Estate			
Interviewed different Managers of the Estate		Interviewed private security companies	
Attended CPF meetings		Attended CPF meetings	
Contacted the municipality and Councillors		Contacted the municipality and Councillors	

Presented above are the main activities I carried out over the years of fieldwork. Apart from “hanging out” in the different spaces, observing and taking notes, I also conducted a historical analysis of the neighbourhoods. In order to have a complete overview of the place I also reviewed relevant historical documentation of the area; undertook a study of the broader area: crime rate, presence of shopping malls, amenities, public transport, schools and so on; defined and described the demographics of the residents of the two areas (in terms of for example age, race, social background, families, place of origin, last place of residence and so on) and identified the recreational activities of the areas. It was also important to understand the institutional borders of the two areas and their definitions: I made contact with town planners and relevant people from the Johannesburg City Council.

Another important aspect was the history of the two areas, looking at when and how they were built and more specifically according to what model. The history was going to be of great relevance to the open suburb because it informed on how the suburb had changed over the years. The history of the golf estate was also relevant as it was recently built. Memory and anecdotes of the past were going to be useful in grasping the relationship between the past way of living and the present one. In depth interviews were particularly important when precise aspects needed to be addressed. The interviews conducted followed a semi-structured nature and they were directed to estate agents, estate managers, city councillors, homeowner association managers, home loan analysts, golf course managers and resident associations’ spokespersons. The objective of the

interviews was to give a more institutional framework to the observations, trying to link the lived experiences of the residents with the setting given by the various institutions at play (municipality, police, HOA, associations, SALGA, banks, estate agents, key actors, residents and ward councillors).

7.3. Crossing the border of the visible and invisible gate: entering homes and enjoying the lifestyle and coming to grips with the idea of justice

This dissertation is based on an ethnographic study of the two different sites of Johannesburg, which locates these specific sites within the phenomenon of urbanization, social and institutional changes. As explained in the previous section the observations were made inside and outside the estate, and conducted both by car and on foot and by taking notes during meetings.

However, the mixing of the study of elite groups and the study of enclosed spaces such as gated communities is not common, indeed it has posed difficulties. Ethnography in gated communities has always been problematic. As a matter of fact only few studies can be found in the literature. Participant observation, a natural way through the environment, did conflict with the nature of the estate, which is undoubtedly physically inclusive or exclusive, depending on the perspectives of the person that crosses the space. Perceptions and actual matters of accessibility change dramatically depending on the status of the person, which is often referred to as insider/outsider, mostly associated with being a resident or a non-resident. Specifically for this reason it was also relevant to consider the role of the gate, and with it, the role of the organization, through the HOA, that takes place within it. Ethnography, in its form of participant observation, has demanded looking at meanings attributed to reality by the residents of the areas, rather than accepting that social reality as pre-existing. It helped me unpack the aerial, external and walled view of the two different communities, thus bringing about a new knowledge of them. Through the processes of observation, the intention was to get to look at the two areas with the eye of the residents, trying to understand and make sense of their sentences, words, gesture and feelings (Corbetta 1999). During the course of my observations I shared the daily life with the residents, and becoming a resident of the two areas I was also able to look at how people make sense of the rules, of the environments and of the city. In most cases there was an empathic relationship between me and the other subjects of the study, through constant interaction. My position in the two areas was quite ambiguous. The intention was not to carry on an overt ethnography, this is why I went through the HOA, but at the same time often I was not able to experience a covert ethnography, fully. Whyte has introduced the concept of “semi-overt role” (1984, 30 in Corbetta), and this also describes my position. Residents of the two areas knew that they were being observed, but did not really understand the extent of my observations. This was due to the wide scope of my research. When attending ballet classes or pilates classes I could not remind my colleagues every time about the research that I was doing, though I would answer questions or curiosities anytime they would ask.

Thanks to this position, I was able to participate in genuine conversations, though I still believe that my presence made a difference, as often people would make extreme comments in order to show how disappointed they were about the country, which is supposed to be a world class one, or they would stress the huge extent to which they would disagree with policies implemented by the government.

7.3.1. Looking for the right gate

In 2011, I flew into Johannesburg for the third time. Previously I had lived in a township called Soshanguve, 45km north west of Pretoria (in 2009), working on gangsterism and urban segregation. Before 2011 I had experienced the city of Johannesburg during the World Cup in 2010. My experience of South Africa has since my entry been marked by my movement across its different spaces and by the awareness of the lack of a public space. While I was in Soshanguve I immediately realized that there was a strong connection between the townships and the suburbs, both symbolic and material. The gangsters of Soshanguve wanted to “make money” from the white wealthy suburbs in order to be able to live there in the future. However, many of these gangsters could not walk freely in what they called “white suburbs”: Tshepo, my informant at the time and resident of the township of Soshanguve did not feel comfortable walking in the suburb of Brooklyn in Pretoria, as he would feel that being black he would have been searched or arrested. As a matter of fact while living in a suburb of Pretoria for a short while, my experience of the suburb was strictly characterized by a feeling of suffocation for not being able to walk freely at night or for being surveilled at all times by the private security guards employed by the committee of the suburb. On one occasion, while walking during the day I stopped next to my place to talk to one of the gardeners. The police drove past and asked me if everything was under control or if I was being harassed, obviously because as a white girl I was interacting with a black man. It was at this time that I developed an interest in those suburbs where what was most visible were the gates and the walls with electric fences and the armed response systems. This is how relationality and comparison has always been imbued in my South African life. When in Johannesburg I was used to the suburbs to the extent that although I was driving through them, I was living in the inner city suburb of Yeoville and I had no idea of what suburban life looked like. In 2011, upon arrival in Yeoville I immediately started looking for a gated community, but I also understood that I had underestimated the complexity of the phenomenon. I had to look for the right gate: a process that took about three months. As explained in Chapter 3 the social geography of Johannesburg is divided greatly into the city centre and the suburbs, and they each have a racial connotation. Luxurious gated communities are seen as white and fortified spaces, and they have a material expression, that of walls and of electric fences.

The process of eventually entering an estate was extremely long and difficult. Finding the right gate required a thorough navigation of the suburbs of the city. I had firstly to contact estate agencies and looked at houses to rent in the northern suburbs. The initial process itself was very instructive. I was Italian and

the agents would not hesitate to assume that I would not have wanted to live anywhere else in Johannesburg except in highly secured spaces, possibly Tuscan style. The unaffordability of such houses was one of the greatest difficulties. As a matter of fact my aim was to live with a family, share the house and daily moments so as to be able to get a direct understanding of feelings, emotions and micro actions. Relying on previous contacts I tried to find a host family in Dainfern (described in the previous chapter as the main competitor to Eagle Canyon). The estate was suitable for the purposes of my work, however the families I had contacted did not feel comfortable living with a stranger and did not make available their spare rooms or cottages to me. For the purpose of my work, I was looking for a full immersion experience – I wanted to live with a family and share as much as possible with them.

The enclosed nature of the estate obviously contributed to making the process of entering and becoming familiar with the field site long and tedious. In fact being able to cross the entrance gates means being known by the system, being accepted before entering. And this is stressed in a very strong fashion thanks to the system of the gates at the entrance.

The first important step was communicating with the marketing manager, facilitated by Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI). The meeting gave me an idea of how to start dealing with the estate. The unpermeability of the place was made clear to me immediately, even though during the period of the research I also got to read the boundary of the estate in a much more open way, giving me the opportunity of unlocking this apparently monolithic space.

By contrast the major actors, or key people in the suburb did not facilitate my entrance to the suburb of Northcliff. Of course this does not mean that there was not such need to understand important actors who could facilitate the access. But the access was independent of the knowledge of key actors or residents (on a spatial level, we will see, this marks a serious important point, a question of splintering or even of different understanding of the segregation of the city, but this should be linked with the social level and the fact that there is not always a connection between the spatial isolation and the social one).

Negotiating the field, finding a room and making connections followed a similar approach but with a different involvement.

In Eagle Canyon I was given the opportunity of attending meetings and conducting the research from the board of the Homeowner Association. Immediately after the approval of the research from the HOA I started looking for a room. Jeff Gilmour, president of ARC and, member of the board and resident of the estate at the time, initially invited me to stay with his family, but he then retracted this offer, which meant that I had to start the process of looking for a place to stay all over again. Even though I was not a resident, I did have access to the clubhouse and I would go there anytime there was a special event. I would sit at the table with the Marketing Manager, whom I first met during my initial visit to the estate, and I would try meet people, drinking one glass of wine after the other, as it was good practice on those occasions.

The marketing manager would always be very nice to me, smiling and making herself available, but she would never stick to her promises: “I could invite you to stay at my place, but we have just turned to guest room into a gym”, she used to tell me when she saw I was getting desperate about finding a

place. She would also tell everyone that I was there to do “a research on us, on our beautiful estate”.

On the occasion of one of these events at the estate I met Josephine, the owner of an apartment in the complex La Bellucia. She was looking for a roommate, and it was just perfect. Thanks to Josephine I was able to start penetrating the estate and to start understanding many of the dynamics beyond it, in terms of relations and in terms of networks. Probably not fully understanding what I was doing, she would be very open with me, talking about her past, her present, her frustrations and aspirations and most importantly by introducing me to her family and to her friends and inviting me to any event in and outside the estate. While drinking uncountable glasses of wine sitting on the counter of the kitchen (and smoking cigarettes) to cope with her unemployment, she introduced me to her life, inviting me to go out with her and she helped me navigate that side of the city.

In the meantime I met other people, starting pilates class, going to the clubhouse, attending all meetings and trying to talk to as many people as possible. Yet, the internal closure of the estate struck me and made it very difficult to penetrate the environment. Over time I became a resident of the estate. Entering and passing through the gate had no longer become a different action, it became just one of the routine actions of the day. The security guards started to know my name, likewise the residents at the clubhouse, as well as the waiters.

My time spent in Eagle Canyon was not just in one location. After six month of living with Josephine, I left the estate and I moved into a tiny cottage by the golf course. This was an entirely different experience. The internal network of the estate works quite perfectly through the newsletter. The marketing manager immediately informed me about the availability of a free standing cottage. Despite my initial enthusiasm, I was not able to develop a friendly relationship with the new hosts. The family made a point of preserving their privacy and despite the common areas of the property such as the garden and the swimming pool, we did not exchanged much information, indeed we hardly got to know each other. The marketing manager warned me at the beginning of the research that people in Eagle Canyon liked to enjoy their privacy and this family was one such example. It was during this time and in order to face the constant boredom that I started running more often and walking around the estate, discovering the parks of the estate and the quiet social life around it.

My position was different when attending meetings at the HOA. All the managers and all the board members were aware of my position in the estate, as they had approved my research, and during meetings they would always address me with their views and at the end they would always invite me for a drink at the clubhouse where I could ask questions of clarity.

Entering the suburb of Northcliff was a different experience altogether. I had first contacted the Rotary Club, Northcliff Branch. I had been invited to give a presentation of my research at the Randpark Ridge Golf Club, where the group meets on a weekly basis. I explained my interest in the suburb and I gave a detailed presentation on what I wanted to achieve and how I wanted to do it. The enthusiasm and the interest of the members led them to write an article on the

Northcliff/Melville Times in which my research was explained and also my request for accommodation. Thanks to that article I got in touch with a few families in the area and I was then able to find accommodation with an old couple near the Berario Recreation Centre. The interaction with the suburb was extremely different to the one of Eagle Canyon. It was more difficult to meet people. This is why I started attending ballet classes at the recreation centre, going to the Country Club of Northcliff and to the tennis club. The moments of observations in Northcliff were less in depth than the ones in the golf estate. There was no formal entrance to the homes and moments of casual conversations were more scarce when not in closed spaces such as the country club and the recreational centre. The family I shared the house with was different from the ones in Eagle Canyon in many regards. It was an old couple, not going out much and then only to go shopping and to visit friends in the area, but very welcoming and warm – in a way I was treated like an adopted grandchild. My interest in Northcliff as a suburb triggered curiosity from the residents, who often opened the doors to me and talked for long hours about the state of the nation, the suburb, the city and their love for the country. When attending ballet classes, I was never seen as a PhD candidate, I was just experiencing the “good life”. As suggested earlier, I was never seen as a researcher in both areas despite me continuously stressing my position.

Entering a space already defined, such as Eagle Canyon, in a way makes the ethnography easy. In fact being a resident acts as a warranty, once accepted in the estate, it is easy to be part of the community. In Northcliff the community is more hidden and not promoted in a specific space such as in the estate. Northcliff is more dispersed, open, with blurred physical boundaries, while the space of the estate is physically defined by the surrounding walls and the security gates, opened to residents and invited visitors, as well as staff members. In order to understand the social, political and spatial life of Eagle Canyon I a) advertised Italian classes in the newsletter, b) attended pilates classes, c) attended events at the clubhouse, d) joined the various clubs, e) attended meetings, f) went to house parties, g) went out with some of the residents to pubs or to church, h) attended the running club and took drives with residents.

In Northcliff I a) attended CPF meetings, b) attended ballet classes at the recreation centre, c) went out to restaurants and took walks, d) attended Rotary Club meetings, e) went to church, f) took walks and drives with the residents.

Entering the field in the open suburb is slightly different. It is open and accessible, it is still characterized by the presence of walls, but they are individual and private and permission to enter the private space needed to be obtained only from the owner of the house.

There are different approaches to ethnography in an enclosed neighbourhood, nevertheless it is always important to keep in mind that, by entering the estate, a legal entity is involved and with it, a set of rules and regulations. One can decide to ignore this set of rules and regulations, thus giving a high degree of anonymity of the research, or one can decide to take the more formal route. I decided on the second option, the reason being that I was interested in attending meetings of the HOA, and manager meetings.

7.4. Difficulties and frustrations of becoming a resident: the emotions of participation

“Every time I enter in Eagle Canyon I feel like crying. Usually I come from Yeoville where my other home is and the first place in which I have lived in Johannesburg. It is frustrating to see a totally different atmosphere. The security guards smile at the gate, they are welcoming, they call me “madam” and they make sure everything is smooth. The gardens are perfectly manicured and everyone smiles. It is safe, yet it is frustrating. It is not only the perfection of the place that bothers me, or that I thought it was a fake environment. It is this generalized feeling of apathy. It looks like anything can happen outside, yet residents are happy to live in this environment. I am struck by the ideal of order and justice. If martial law were to be adopted in the country, they would be happy, for the sake of order and security.....While wanting to become a resident, I usually tend to stress my difference: “Yes I am a resident but...I am different”, I usually think of myself and I try to make a point of it with both the residents and the staff of the estate. I don’t like it when residents feel that I am like them, and I tend to highlight the fact that I was not born in South Africa and that I have no affiliation to it, except for research purposes. The notion of research is not well understood and as I usually spend a lot of time in the estate, residents usually believe that in the end I like the place because it reminds me of Italy. On the other hand I always feel I have to justify with the waiters and the domestic workers that I live in Eagle Canyon for research and that I am not like the residents.”

Fieldnote, April 25th, 2011

The field note speaks without ambiguity to the difficulty that I faced at the beginning of my stay. This led me to act the part of a different person while in Eagle Canyon. Indeed, I have invented a life. I invented the story that all my friends lived in the hip suburb of Rosebank and I spent my leisure time there. I did not show disappointment when facing comments that I considered not appropriate and racist. I spoke of Yeoville, the inner city suburb in which I spent most of the time when out of Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, as a dangerous, dirty and dilapidated space. I promoted myself as a different person to prevent any form of wariness towards me from the residents of Eagle Canyon (and of Northcliff later), in order to be accepted and trusted. I also never made it public that I had lived in a township before. I created a different identity for myself, and it was difficult. Over time I learnt to fake smiles and I learnt to deal with awkward situations.

“Today I have found myself in great difficulty. Miriam, the domestic worker, told me that she feels treated like a dog. The “madam” offers her old and stale food. As she was cleaning the kitchen and I was cooking, I offered some food I was preparing, she refused because she didn’t want the “madam” to see her eating with me. I never know what to do, it is difficult, sometimes I wish I can just shout and leave everything, because this is too difficult to deal with.”

Fieldnote, September 20th, 2011

I often pretended to be racist in the same way many of the residents were, but I also tried to stress that I was not the same. I do not think I achieved this. In the end I was considered a rich and spoiled Italian girl. Race and nationality played a big role, indeed I was accepted in both areas because I was white. Wacquant (2004) speaks of his position while he does observation in a boxing gym in Chicago. He expresses that him being foreigner (French in the United States) has given him a different position. Indeed he was more accepted than Americans by virtue of his nationality. My experience in South Africa is similar and different at the same time. While he states that: “Next, my French nationality granted me a sort of statutory exteriority with respect to the structure of relations of exploitation, contempt, misunderstanding, and mutual mistrust that oppose blacks and whites in America” (Wacquant, 2004, 20), my position was contrary to this, as it is precisely my race that allowed the residents to accept me into their same group and my nationality that made me exotic. In fact it is precisely the fact that I was white and Italian that granted me a “statutory interiority” to the system of exploitations and mutual mistrust between blacks and whites in South Africa. This obviously posed serious concerns about my integrity as a person and about my role and my position both in estate and in the suburb. My reaction would be always split. On the one hand I would stress that in Italy there is no such living style as Eagle Canyon and on the other hand I would also stress that different historical trajectories have probably resulted in different ways of being white.

As noted before, one of the most important aspects that I had to deal with in the two areas was the idea of being good, and this is how the worth of the group living in Eagle Canyon came to be justified and interpreted. Living in the estate was just a normal choice for the residents, and being myself a resident and inviting friends home (that had known me before the research and especially those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds) confirmed this choice, adding more frustration to my position:

“Today I have invited my friend Phumzile to see Eagle Canyon. She now lives in Johannesburg but we shared the room in Soshanguve in 2009. At first I was a bit worried. Eagle Canyon is such a sumptuous space, I was actually ashamed of showing her that I am living here (even if only for research purposes). But I was surprised, she showed interest and appreciation for the place, and did not even mention anything about the high standard of life.”

Fieldnote May 15th, 2011

The experience with Phumzile exemplifies how the estate sets the standards and how it is considered normal and just by those who do not live there and come from different backgrounds. During an interview in the informal

settlement of Zandspruit⁶⁵, another important element comes surface:

F: But, it doesn't bother you that there are so many, people are so rich there, that live in such...?

J: No...

F: It doesn't bother you?

J: It doesn't bother me because it is my dream, in another day, another day you will see me in that stadium, it is my dream for another day. Here I am praying every day and saying God, give us power, you drinking or you are not drinking, you are a child minder or a venter or what, but I am praying – it is God's people. If I pray, I pray for all the people, I love these people but I love that place the most. (All laugh) If I can steal money, I am a Christian but if I can steal money, I will steal money to go and buy a place there, I will steal there.

Interview with Jeanette
April 18th, 2013

Jeanette sees the space of Eagle Canyon as a good one because she dreams of moving there one day. She says that she loves the people, but that she loves the place more, especially its niceness and cleanness.

A few common threads accompanied my ethnographic work and enabled me to become a resident of the areas. My presence was always characterized by the dichotomy of trust and suspicion, especially in Eagle Canyon, where only the members of the HOA recognized my research. The residents would ask me what my business was overall. Positioning myself was very challenging. By virtue of my gender (female), nationality (Italian) and race (white), I was able to have access quite easily to much of the information and many of the houses but I was also frustrated with the assumptions of the residents, especially in Eagle Canyon, that I shared all values and ways of seeing the world that they described and expressed. On a few occasions I found myself in great difficulty, especially during occasions of racial discourse or of interaction with domestic workers, and waiters. For the sake of my research I never reacted to brutal racial offences (I would have not been trusted anymore by the respondents), but I always tried to apologize afterwards with the person who had been the victim of racist acts, making the point that what had been said was not my opinion and that I did not share the view.

My position was received differently from the different people that I interacted with along the lines of race and gender. Women generally saw me with suspicion when I was at the clubhouse alone, but they would be extremely

⁶⁵ I have helped my colleague Idah Makukule, who works on migrations and institutions in informal settlements, another important element, with a few interviews and I thank her for allowing me to use this extract.

nice and smiley at pilates or at ballet at the Northcliff Recreation Centre. No matter the level of suspicion, being Italian always triggered interest: “when are you going to cook for us” used to be the most recurrent request. Interestingly I never cooked for anyone, despite my availability to do it, and I always took this as a form of genuine interest towards me. The gendered dynamics helped me have access to the world of women, in taking care of the body with them, in understanding and listening to what they felt about the suburbs and the nation, and it also helped me have access to the “man talk” of the clubhouse, even though I often felt offended by their “sex talk”.

Positioning myself was extremely relevant to this research project. Reactions and considerations over my stay in South Africa oscillated anywhere from being seen as a “spoiled Italian girl” who could afford to live for two years in wealthy suburbs, to thinking that underneath I must be running a lucrative business, something that could allow such a stay. And it had an impact on how I came to understand what I had seen and how I analysed it. The access took a long time and at times I thought that I would not be able to achieve what I wanted, but interestingly no one ever said no to me, both in the estate and in the suburb of Northcliff. My requests were never rejected, they were always been taken into consideration, and there could have been delays had they not been accepted. While in Eagle Canyon I was a resident and that was made clear by the fact that I was renting a room. Many of the people I interacted with were referring to South African society as an experiment and they were happy to showcase to the world its bad (present) or good (past). Some of the excitement about being the object of the study was also linked to people’s feelings of being neglected. For this reason they were interested in talking to foreigners “am very intrigued by someone being interested in Northcliff”, said the Rotary spokesperson.

7.5 From Eagle Canyon to Northcliff to Yeoville. Different gates, different city, different protection

All the aspects previously described, the articulation of gender, race and space in the South African context and the way they have shaped my experience, have contributed to a strong spatial ethnographic meaning, which has had relevant consequences in the way I have understood, analysed and lived the city. Becoming a resident of Eagle Canyon made me feel the protection of the estate (see Chapter Six), and made me understand fully considerations like “it is lock and go here, you don’t worry about anything”, it made me experience the full efficiency of the administration (see Chapter Five) and the organized sociability (see Chapter Four). It was precisely when becoming a resident of Northcliff that I felt the direct impact of the regulating institutions in daily life, and as a consequence, the knowledge and navigation of the city. At first the absence of a common gate in Northcliff had been a shock, and I found myself adhering (without me realizing it), to some of the discourses of the residents of Eagle Canyon. While I would not change my stand on suburbs such as Yeoville in the inner city (in which I have always felt at home under any circumstances), I immediately felt the uncertainty of living in Northcliff, of not having the big protection gate. However I immediately internalised the discourses of the

residents of Northcliff and soon adopted them in conversations. For the first time in Northcliff I noted the private security number in my wallet and I started looking at crime reports not only for the sake of the research, but because of a personal paranoia.

Luckily, the suffocating nature of these spaces have always been neutralized by the vibrancy of Yeoville, by its life and by its different social institutions. But it was only when I moved back to Yeoville in 2013 that I understood the relevance of my observations. Sinking in the “tough and dangerous world” as some residents of the estate and the suburb would call it, the geography of the city became more complicated. I was now looking at Johannesburg from the city centre, not from the West Rand (see Chapter Three). Suburbs were delocalized and my connection to them changed in nature:

“Yesterday I spent the evening at the clubhouse in Eagle Canyon but then I went back to Yeoville. Some of the waiters at the clubhouse asked me a lift, as they all live in Yeoville. Now they know that I am also a resident of this area, but it is always so frustrating. Anytime we drive out they have to be searched, while I can just sit in the car and pass through the gate.”

Fieldnote
April 15th, 2013

In 2013 I felt distant from those spaces, which I had seen as a source of anxiety for me. Now I was going there only for a few visits and I felt far from the residents. I always felt controlled both in Eagle Canyon and in Northcliff and while living there I made an effort to understand the ideal of being good to justify their privileged position, observing both the reaction of the residents and the role of the institutions in creating such social spaces. Yeoville had now become home and my safe space. A tiny flat in a building, safe, protected but not isolated. Moving out of the wealthy suburbs and settling into the inner city suburb I have assessed what the just space is for me and I have justified my position there. In March 2013 when I went home one night I find a dead man in front of the garage gate. After a month, my car got broken into. The same could have happened in Northcliff but not in Eagle Canyon. Maybe in this instance the safety and the goodness of the place has been informed by my idea of the public and lived space, which is vast in Yeoville and lacking in Northcliff and Eagle Canyon. I have not felt in that *total institution* (Goffman 1961) that both suburbs embody in different ways.

Conclusions and discussion

Looking for the real difference: viewing the suburb from the gated estate and vice versa

In the course of this dissertation I have accompanied the reader through a social history journey of two suburbs of Johannesburg: Northcliff, an old suburb, open and without formal entrance, and Eagle Canyon, a newly built, gated golf estate. The descriptions and analyses of these two sites have not only served the purpose of providing a tool for the navigation of the city from an elite point of view, but have also offered an unconventional way of looking at the city relationally. Throughout the work I have continuously put the residents into dialogue: I have let them talk to each other and I have let them move within the different areas of the city, both geographically and symbolically. Arguably, the experience of entering into Eagle Canyon and that of entering into Northcliff could be extended to any other spaces which are organized similarly in Johannesburg, South Africa, and for that matter in many other countries.

Thanks to the relational ethnographic observation carried on over three years (2011-2013), which consisted mainly of participant observation and in depth interviews, I have “opened and removed” the gates of the golf estate and I have “materialized” gated to the open suburb. Observation of and interaction with residents, institutions (both public and private) and infrastructures has facilitated the phenomenological understanding of how the management and institutional set up of the gated golf estate contribute to the creation and endorsement of a good lifestyle considered to be just, better and worthy from the elite perspective of its residents. Working on both elite and homogeneous groups (mostly white and wealthy even though considering they consider themselves strongly different), this work has also contributed to the knowledge of “studying up” (Nader 1972). Ethnographic and qualitative work on elites is lacking due to the difficulty of gaining access to groups of affluence. Issues linked to access also constitute a limitation to the ethnographic work on gated spaces where entrance is permitted only upon invitation or in possession of a residence card. Entrance into the estate has allowed me to critically engage with physically enclosed communities from within. Thanks to this privileged access I have been able to reject approaches to the study of urban spaces that see gated communities as homogeneous phenomena to be interpreted using merely the lens of the “fear of crime” and I have rejected the approach of the research of the gated community as a self-explanatory object. Moving freely in and out of the gates (individual private in the open suburb and collective private in the golf estate) has promoted the understanding that rather than being a bubble, an isolated space, distant and disengaged from the rest of the city, the gated golf estate is a site within which there are multiple connections, both symbolic and administrative/material to the suburb, to the city and to the nation. The institutional and managerial organization of the estate crucially highlights that more than being sites of exclusion and isolation, gated communities (and particularly exclusive estates) should be analysed as sites of connection, fully imbricated in broader societal changes and in the construction of what is perceived to be a good lifestyle.

Having adopted a relational perspective (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Emirbayer 1997; Hart 2006) with a comparison of communities within the same city (McFarlane 2012), this work has also put forward a possible way of looking at urban spaces globally. The institutional sensibility one needs to understand the difference it makes to live in a gated estate allows me to address questions brought to the fore by these very urban artefacts such as: what kind of life is created under a corporate regime type of administration fully entrenched in broader mechanisms of society? The gated estate is at the same time an expression of changes evident during the economic and political transformation of a country. The South African case shows that concomitant to the dismantling of apartheid, with the reshaping of the economy (through the GEAR programme) and the advent of the New Public Management, a number of social and political institutions have changed. What has emerged is that the space of the estate, that is an enclosed space, privately managed by an institution such as the HOA, is an expression of these institutional changes.

By looking at spaces from an institutional sensitivity stand point I have been provided with insights into how the lifestyle and the idea of justice and worth within the groups in deeply unequal societies undergoing transformation such as in South Africa, is determined by past experiences and by the extent to which they are reproduced. The previous chapters have been a journey inside and outside different suburban spaces in South Africa. I have dealt with a specific form of gated community, - a golf estate- and I have put it in dialogue with an open suburb of the city of Johannesburg. In a society where studies on dividedness, segregation and fragmentation (Beall 2002, Bremner 2004) are contrasted with those on hospitality and mutuality (Nuttall 2009) or living together, the mushrooming of gated communities (in all its forms) is a profitable trend to study in order to unpack these themes. In a way this work has followed the suggestion of Mbembe and Nuttall (2008) to overcome a functionalist approach to the study of the city instead embracing a deep exploration of not only the organization of the space, but also of what it represents, how it is lived in, how created and how contested.

In fact I have not just dealt with these two sites as objects of study. I have assessed that the gated communities are the manifestation of a system of justification of the good life and that being an international trend, the dissertation offers insights on how to look methodologically at them in the context of contemporary cities at large and not only in what we refer to as “divided cities” or “traumatized societies”.

The initial question was to understand what difference it makes to live in an enclosed space. Taking as main points of analysis, the spatial, social and institutional spheres (Roitman, Landman and Webster 2010) I have provided insights into how the good life is experienced, the functions of the gates and walls, and how in newly democratic societies that undergo transformation groups feel entitled to a certain lifestyle, which is considered good and how come to grips with their position in the suburb, the city and the nation. In this perspective crime becomes only one of the aspects creating the possibility for the argument to be extended to other cities and continents. Against the tendency to consider South Africa as a special country, the method employed in this work helps to generalize the findings.

The work has argued that in the Estate there is a process of formalization of a system in which an ideal typical version of way of living is promoted.

The main argument put forward in this work is that the space of the gated estate provides a system fully connected with other parts of the suburb, the city and the nation and which sets the standard of the good and just life. The estates thus instantiate a new political communities that lives in the country following its own terms. In countries in which the gap between the rich and the poor is high, it is also a space in which residents are able to create their own strategies of justification for deciding to live that particular good life and to show their “worth” vis à vis those that have decided not to move into such spaces (the residents of the open suburb) and those that cannot afford it. Proving their “worth”, the residents also claim their entitlement to the standard of the good life, which they experience. The institution of the Homeowners Association which works in order to grant efficiency, organization and control determines this standard. It is precisely the lack of this institution in the open suburb that constitutes the main difference between a gated and a non-gated space, thus the inability of the suburb to create a perfect life. However, when compared, the gated estate and the open suburb that share similar socio-demographic characteristics, show similar patterns of movement within the city, similar parameters of considering themselves as good. Similar administrative practices are to be found in the two areas. This reinforces greatly the argument that what makes the difference in the two areas is the elaboration of a good life and strategies of justification of it. One of the main justification is the development of a feeling of attachment to the country, perceivable in a form of escalation in belonging. In the South African context, the notion of the good life from an elite perspective is linked to the idea of being “good people”. In order to unfold this argument, three main aspects that contribute to the creation of this good lifestyle have been elaborated.

The good and just city

If we are to see the gated estate as one that fosters spatial segregation and one that creates a new geography of the city, as critical urban theory would suggest, this work contributes in two different ways to a more detailed analysis of the urban fabric.

The first one is linked to the movement within the city and the second to the symbolic meaning of it. The estate, thanks to the institutions of the HOA and to its perfect administration is able to reproduce the idea of a different city, however, materially it does not produce different patterns of movement. Both the spaces of the suburb and of the gated golf estate share the same idea of the city of Johannesburg. They both feel far from the city centre physically and symbolically. The CBD of the city does not represent the residents of the two areas. Physically the city is far away, perceived of as dangerous, dirty and not welcoming. Symbolically it represents the government of the new dispensation, thus it is seen as a hostile space.

The difference is in the alternative: the just and good city becomes the estate for its residents, as it embodies the ideal of the World Class City and it comes

close to the standards of what is thought to be the European city. In this regard, the estate represents a new and modern space, manicured and beautified, and it creates a new way of looking at Johannesburg. The city is viewed from the West Rand, where the estate is located, and more specifically from within the estate. In this case the physical barriers of the estate generate spatial segregation, splintering and division of the city not only due to its wall and electric fence, but also by providing a different internal landscape (in opposition to the one of the city centre of Johannesburg and/or to the one of the suburb). However, the open suburb does not create a standard of landscaping and beautification, thus even if symbolically there is no connection with the city, the suburb is nonetheless “closer” to it. However, Chapter 3 has shown that geographically residents of the two suburbs live and navigate the same city.

If the physical barriers of the estate do not mirror different patterns of movement within the city, they do have an impact on how borders of the good city and of the safe space are created. In both cases the good city is accessed upon trespassing of the barriers. In the case of the gated estate this barrier is its main entrance, while in the case of the suburb the barrier is the private gate. The perfect administration provides the idea of what the good space is, thus also providing tools of justification for deciding to live there.

The estate presents itself in the line of continuity with the suburban dream, thus it represents a space of continuity with the past. In the specific South African context, the estate presents itself as the reproduction of the white suburb of the apartheid era, though with some novel adjustments.

The “worth” of the community

Two main strands of study on gated communities suggest that these are spaces of community (communitarian approach) versus spaces of individualism. This work provides insights on how the community found in estates is at the same time individualistic and communitarian.

The fortress mentality described by the literature does not play a dominant role in assessing the values of the community of the estate. As it has been shown in Chapter four, residents of the estate are vested in showing their “worth” vis à vis the residents of the suburb and they do it by claiming their full connection to society. Blending nostalgia for the past and the wish to prove to be part of the new country, the residents use the space of the estate to justify the choice of living there. Starting to reject that the estate is a bubble, I show that the strategies put in place by the community to show and prove its good are linked to the societal structure. Strong identitarian feelings are attached to this dynamic: the communitarian life of the estate is at the same time “counterfeit” (Freie 1998) because orchestrated by the HOA, and real because lived intensely by the residents. Social life inside the estate is extremely connected to the individualized life. The estate becomes the space in which there is maximum expression of the two as it is where spontaneous social relations are matched with orchestrated ones.

However, the estate allows freedom to feel part of the community and/or of opting out of it. While all residents are de facto part of the administrative

community and are entitled to benefit from its perfect administration because they are bound by a contract and they all have vested interests in showing their “worth” to themselves and to the outside, they do have the option of opting out (Esposito 2004). They can become individuals attached to the estate for instrumental purposes (see showing the worth and justifying their presence there) without taking part in social activities of the estate. The space of the estate becomes a neutral one, in which different identities converge and express themselves freely because their relationships are regulated by the HOA. Here lies the main difference with the open suburb, where the ideal of community is generated by the various institutions in a scattered way, and where the community comes to be perceived as real because it is more genuinely connected to overall society. If both groups perceive themselves as good, the administration of the estate plays a crucial role in providing parameters for its residents to feel part of the new country (relying on marketing strategies), yet maintaining the good values of the past.

The good administration and commitment

Good administration is linked to the notion of belonging and commitment. This is extremely crucial in the way in which we see estates. Maximization of profit is not only material. Thanks to its capability of providing a perfect and efficient administration, the estate and the HOA act as the main players that promote commitment to the community and to the country. The estate is the space in which “love for the country” is expressed in a form of escalation in belonging. Following this line, the estate is not only a bubble, but a committed bubble to the well-being of the nation. The estate, thanks to its supposedly democratic management based on authority, control and paternalism, provides the tools for feelings of commitment and belonging to the country. Residents of Eagle Canyon feel entitled to that lifestyle because of their commitment. The perfect administration has two fundamental implications: a material one given by the material maximization of profit (the property is a good investment), but also a symbolic one, which is the expression of attachment to South Africa as a country. Moving out of the city, contrarily to what residents of the suburb have done, those who have moved into the estate, stress their loyalty to the country. In this instance, the estate is not just a bubble, but it represents the space of patriotism in which residents claim their citizenship under those specific conditions. Furthermore, the estate is involved in national and international networks of estate lifestyle and management. This accentuates the connection of the estate to global spaces.

Looking at both the material and symbolic implications of good administration I show that the estate is a “club good”, but I also show that the rational choice of living in such a space is not only linked to a material maximization of profit, but to a symbolic and more important escalation in belonging. Looking at estates in this fashion also exiles the “crime question” as one of the dominant drivers for moving into a secured space and it shows that the fear of crime goes hand in hand with the aspiration to live in a predictable and ordered space, that is in a highly regulated space as opposed to the self-

regulated space of the suburb.

The above discussion has shown that the three most important elements and notions employed to understand the world of estates are that of the gate, the community and the bubble. All of them are interconnected and a socio-historical, relational and institutional analysis of them provides a fresh view on the continuities and discontinuities of a county and of the role of estate vis à vis the broader society.

The role of gating becomes important when it produces the notion of difference (Razac 2000), which is what happens in the estate. With the institutionalization of a system of control, administration and good life, the wall of the estate becomes a visible way of creating difference. Looking relationally and historically at the South African case it is possible to assume that the visible gate of the estate acts as the substitute to the invisible gate of the old suburb, in this way reproducing some of old dynamics of control and movement

The community is the main preoccupation of its residents. The collective private gate of the estate acts as a container of the good and worthy community at the local, national and international levels, it thus proves that the estate is not a mere bubble isolated and independent. The individual private gate of the suburb creates a different form of community, historically established with old values, but challenged by the new institutions, both public and private. The community of the estate is connected to various systems of governance (local, national and global), thus it is not just a bubble.

Residents of the two spaces both feel trapped or left out in different ways. Residents of the suburb feel free for not being regulated by the HOA. On the contrary this regulation, spatially defined by the gate, is what makes residents of the estate feel free. On the other side residents of the estate think of the suburb as one trapped in the problems and the inefficient administrative machine of the city, while seeing themselves as free to be able to prove their loyalty to the country and for the possibility of their belonging to an international network of estates. Analysing gated and open suburbs in this lens allows an understanding of the gated suburb in terms of continuity with the open suburb, yet offering elements of novelty, useful for the residents that position themselves in societies undergoing transformation.

Adopting such a method of study of the city, Johannesburg stops being a special and exceptional city, and South Africa can be studied as a country undergoing transformation. The singularity of the country in connection with the high rates of crime becomes neutralized by deeper social, spatial and political dynamics around the issue of how the good life is to be created and maintained. Johannesburg becomes an ordinary city (Robinson 2006), entirely connected to global dynamics and from which it is possible to understand patterns of segregation and the new social and institutional order brought about by the phenomenon of the gated estates. Eagle Canyon and Northcliff, within the city of Johannesburg, exemplify local dynamics of attachment to the country. The estate in Johannesburg and in South Africa becomes the symbol of pride of the country (thanks to its perfection, its functioning and its symbolic status). However it creates its identity vis à vis its predecessor, following the organizational lines of the model of the Garden City. While reproducing some

aspects of the old regime, the estate industry presents itself as new, global and first class.

Conclusion and new directions

The original question sets out to uncover the real difference between living in an estate as opposed to an open suburb and the answer lies in the presence of the Homeowners Association. This dissertation has contributed to understanding the dynamics in two different suburbs of Johannesburg and it has contributed to debates over the nature of gated communities with the suburb, the city and the nation.

This institution creates a space in which dynamics of the greater society are stressed and institutionalized. It is a space in which the good lifestyle is determined and set as the standard. The good city, the worthy community and good administration give the residents of the estate a space from which to show their attachment to the nation

How does this come to be just and how does it justify the choice of that particular good life?

Balibar (2007) suggests that the question of justice and injustice is one of order and disorder. By demonstrating the disorder of the suburb (identified as a bad landscape, a scattered community that has to deal with the local government, an inefficient administration and an unsafe space), the system put in place by the administration of the estate is one that helps to justify the choice of living in such a perfect space (sometimes a numbing one) and provides strategies to the residents to think of themselves as entitled to it because they are “good” people.

In the South African case this mechanism has resulted in two main political and social shifts. On the one hand the estate represents the shifts from the doctrine of “separate but equal” to the less formal one of “separate and unequal”. The residents of the estate claim to be aware of the inequality of the society they live in, thus they adopt strategies to prove they are entitled to living in such a manicured space, where internal order and justice make the space desirable and where there is a system of internal justice on the basis of belonging (Chapter Four and Five).

The second important shift is from “being controlled by state law” during the apartheid era to “choosing to be controlled by private institutions such as the HOA at present” in order to keep living a good and happy life. The space of the estate in this regard represents a real reproduction of the important pillars of apartheid, such as authority, paternalism and control (Chapter Six). These two shifts are indeed expressions of the lines of continuity and discontinuity in the country. The system put in place by the estate is a strongly political one, but it is lived in a numbing way by the residents, who are mainly interested in enjoying the good life. Fear of crime is the first issue to be addressed by literature on gated communities and in South Africa, however such a relational and institutional analysis of estates proves that crime is only one of the factors that determines the choice of moving into the estate.

To conclude, the role of institutions in shaping experiences of the city, of the community and of belonging is certainly a very important one. The

institution of the HOA is the direct continuum of that of the garden city, via the experience of the suburb.

Starting from a relational approach to the study of city forms (Hart 2006), I have been able to deconstruct the monolithic phenomenon of the gated community, providing insights on the relationship between social and spatial processes. Comparisons within the city following temporal and spatial axes offer a fresh way of looking at the city itself and of unearthing the underlying mechanisms of its functioning.

Theoretically gated developments have been seen as the expression of a gated mentality, as spaces of retreat and as places of individualism, but most importantly they are studied and analysed as safe spaces in response to the fear of crime. They are seen as neoliberal artefacts explained by the club goods and rational choice theory. However the comparative and relational fashion of this research required understanding the relevance of these aspects not only in the gated space of Eagle Canyon but also in the open suburb of Northcliff. This work suggests that while these mechanisms are prominent in gated spaces, these are not exclusive to them, on the contrary they present continuities and discontinuities with the past. The relational and historical perspective aids the reworking of the notion of segregation and distance and brings to the fore unexpected insights on the world of gated estates. While literature on gated communities has addressed the lines of continuities between the ideal of the garden city and that of the gated community referring mainly to the institution of the Homeowners Association, scant attention has been devoted to the lines of continuity between the suburb and the gated community. In countries such as South Africa, and in cities such as Johannesburg the ideal of the good life and how it is experienced in the estate is better understood in line of the continuity between the ideal of the garden city, that of the suburb and finally of the gated communities.

Finally, luxurious gated estates are inhabited by an elite (Khan 2012) with great control over resources. This makes possible the good lifestyle and it also creates difficulty of access

Thanks to the ethnographic observation I have been able to debunk monolithic and solely material interpretation of the relevance of these spaces. I have been able to assess that these spaces set the standard of the good life, are promoters of new languages and of the individualization of success. Too often these standards are not challenged and they come to be accepted and hegemonic as the expression of success by different social groups, including the disadvantaged (see Chapter Seven).

Future research on estates as spaces that accommodate the elite and provide the strategies of justification of their wealth and position is needed if we want to contribute to the understanding of what future battles need to be tackled in order to achieve a society that provides the good life as widely as possible.

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Appendix A

From

<http://www.eaglecanyon.co.za/index.php?page/125/Rules%20and%20Guidelines>

ESTATE RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. INTRODUCTION:

The main objective of the development of Eagle Canyon Golf Estate has been the provision of a high quality of lifestyle for Estate residents. The following rules have been established in terms of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Estate Home Owner's Association (The HOA) and are binding upon all occupants and residents of the Estate. The Registered Owners of the properties are responsible for ensuring that members of their families, tenants, visitors, friends and employees abide by the rules. Happy and harmonious community living is achieved when residents use and enjoy their property as well as the public areas of the Estate in compliance with these rules. In respect of the interpretation of these rules the decision of the Trustees is final and binding. The rules are subject to change from time to time, as and how it may become necessary in the opinion of the Trustees.

1. GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS:

- 2.1** No activity or hobby, which would cause aggravation or nuisance to fellow occupants, may be conducted, including auctions and jumble sales.
- 2.2** The volume of music or electronic instruments, partying and the activities of residents, guests and domestic help should be tuned to a level so as not to be heard on adjoining properties
- 2.3** The mechanical maintenance, and the use of power saws, lawn mowers and the like (electric mowers are preferred), may only be indulged between the following hours:
 - May-August 07h30- 18h30
 - September- April 07h00- 19h00
 - Sundays only between 09h00-14h00 and 16h00-18h00
- 2.4** Washing may only be hung on lines screened from the street and neighbouring properties.
- 2.5** Refuse: garden refuse and refuse bags may not be placed on the pavements, unless it is scheduled to be removed within a period of 12 hours.
- 2.6** Dogs barking excessively or unnecessarily must be restrained and kept quiet.

3. USE OF STREETS

- 3.1** The speed limit is 40KM per hour
- 3.2** Residents are reminded that golfers , children and other pedestrians will frequently cross streets in the Estate and should approach all designated crossings with extreme caution.
- 3.3** The streets are intended to allow the movement of all occupants, whether by foot or mechanical means . Note the motorcars are considered to be part of the street environment but not necessarily the domination factor.
- 3.4** The use of a quad bike, go-cart , off-road vehicles etc within the Estate is strictly prohibited.
- 3.5** Unlicensed drivers are not permitted to drive golf carts in public areas and the use of same on the golf course while playing golf will be determined by the golf club

4. MAINTENANCE OF GARDENS AND SIDEWALKS

All residents are responsible to:

- 4.1** Maintain the area between the road kerb and the boundary of the property.
- 4.2** Garden fences/walls and outbuildings forming part of the streetscape should be maintained and maintained where necessary.
- 4.3** Caravans , trailers boats, tool sheds etc , as well as accommodation for pets must be sites out of public view and appropriately screened from neighbouring properties.
- 4.4** No Trees, plants or groundcovers may be removed from the sidewalk without permission from the HOA. Planting should not interfere with pedestrian traffic or obscure the vision of motorists.
- 4.5** Comply with the Architectural and Landscape Guidelines
- 4.6** Residents are responsible for maintaining trees, plants and shrubs planted on their pavement.
- 4.7** Residents are expected to maintain a high standard of garden and pavement maintenance.
- 4.8** Residents must ensure that declared noxious flora is not planted or growing in their garden.
- 4.9** Swimming pool water may not be emptied into streets but must be channelled into the sewage system or as directed by HOA or Local Authority.
- 4.10** Vacant stands must be kept clean on a regular basis to the satisfaction of the HOA, and if not maintained the HOA reserves the right to clean the stand at the owner's expense.

5. USE OF OPEN SPACE

- 5.1** No rubble or refuse may be dumped or discarded in any public area, including the parks, streets, public areas and dam environs
- 5.2** Residents must leave open space they visit in as clean a condition as in which it was found. Residents are requested to develop the habit of picking up and disposing of any litter encountered in the open spaces.
- 5.3** Picnicking will only be allowed in designated areas.
- 5.4** Flora may not be damaged or removed from any public area.
- 5.5** Fauna of any nature may not be chased or trapped in any public area, be it by people or dogs.
- 5.6** The residents' use of open space areas is entirely at their own risk at all times.
- 5.7** The use of fireworks is prohibited within the boundaries of the Estate.
- 5.8** The use of alcoholic beverages in the open space, parks, lawns or any other public space is strictly forbidden and non compliance is subject to prosecution in terms of Municipal By-laws for public open spaces and/or fines imposed by the Trustees.
- 5.9** The erection of signage, distribution of promotional material is strictly forbidden within the confines of the Estate.

6. PETS

- 6.1** The Local Authority by-laws relating to pets will be strictly enforced.
- 6.2** No pets are allowed to roam the streets, golf course, common property areas or neighbouring properties.
- 6.3** Pets must be walked on a leash in common property areas
- 6.4** Should any excrement be deposited in a common property area, the immediate removal thereof shall be the sole responsibility of the owner of the pet.
- 6.5** Every pet must wear a collar with a tag indicating the name, telephone number and address of its owner. Stray pets without identification will be apprehended and handed to the Municipal Pound.
- 6.6** The HOA reserves the right to insist that the owner remove a pet should it become a nuisance within the Estate in opinion of the Trustees.

7. SECURITY

In the interest of providing an effective security service and systems, security protocol must be adhered to at all times and residents are requested to always treat security personnel in a co-operative, courteous and patient manner.

- 7.1** Security protocol at the entrance gates must be adhered to at all times.
- 7.2** All residents, tenants and other persons who reside on the Estate must register with the security centre and complete the required data sheets.
- 7.3** Residents are to note that all the perimeter walling and electric fencing serve as a deterrent and detection function and are not guaranteed to prevent a determined attempt at intrusion into the Estate

- 7.4 The ID system for permanent workers, temporary workers and contractor representatives must be conscientiously enforced by every owner with respect to people in their employ.
- 7.5 All attempts at burglary or instances of fence jumping must be reported to a member of the security staff .
- 7.6 Security is an attitude, be aware that you need to enforce and apply security to make it work. Do not hesitate to question suspicious person not displaying formal ID cards.
- 7.7 Estate will be manned 24 hours a day and residents must at all times carry the access card for identification purposes
- 7.8 The Security centre at the Gatehouse should be advised in advanced of pending arrival of visitors where possible, in particular vehicle registration numbers and property to be visited, should be provided.
- 7.9 The estate will be patrolled 24 hours.
- 7.10 Physical or verbal abuse of any security personnel will not be tolerated and in no way should they be prevented from carrying out their jobs.

8.TENANTS,VISITORS,CONTRACTORS AND EMPLOYEES

- 8.1 Should any owner let his property, he shall in writing advise the HOA in advance of occupation of the name of lessee and the period of such lease. The owner shall inform the lessee of all Memorandum and Articles and Rules and Regulations and other rules and bind the lessee to adhere to such rules.
- 8.2 The occupiers of any property within the Estate are liable for the conduct of their visitors, contractors and employees and must ensure that such parties adhere to the Memorandum and Articles and rules and Regulations
- 8.3 Every owner must ensure that contractors in their employ have signed the contractors code of conduct and adhere to the stipulations of the contract.

9. LETTING AND RESELLING PROPERTY

- 9.1 Should any owner wish to sell or lease their property, the Home Owners Association encourages the appointment of an accredited Estate Agent to manage the sale or lease. The Trustees may , however , at any time accredited agents to market, operate or conduct show house in the Estate. The requirements for an agent to be appointed as accredited agents will be determined by the trustees.
- 9.2 The owner must ensure that the buyer/lessee is informed about, accepts and signs a copy of the Rules and Architectural and landscape Guidelines, Contractors Code of Conduct and any other administrative regulations applicable at the time and commits to be bound thereto.
- 9.3 A clearance Certificate must be obtained from the HOA prior to any transfer.
- 9.4 It is the responsibility of the Owner to ensure that the Estate Agent who signs, adheres to the Code of Conduct for Estate Agents as laid down by the HOA from time to time.

- 9.5** Agents may only operate on a "By Appointment" basis and may personally accompany a prospective buyer to lessee and are not allowed to erect any "For Sale" or "To Let" signage boards, unless approved by the HOA, through the accreditation process

10 ADMINISTRATION

- 10.1** All levies are due and payable in advance on the first day of each and every month.
- 10.2** Interest will be raised on all accounts in arrears at a rate determined by the Trustees.
- 10.3** Further penalties , to be determined from time to time, will be imposed on any accounts unpaid after 60 days.
- 10.4** The Trustees may amend or add the Rules and Regulations from time to time , as may be deemed necessary to ensure the happy and orderly co-existence of occupants.
- 10.5** The trustees have the right to fine transgressors where any of the rules as stipulated by the HOA from time to time have been broken. Such fines or any other amount due will form part of the levy and be due and payable on due date of payment of the levy.
- 10.6** The trustees reserve the right to take any action they deem fit in the instance of non compliance of any obligation or of a continued contravention of a rule , after expiry of a written notice detailing the contravention. Such action an include rectification by the HOA, the cost of which will be charged to the transgressor or possible imposition of a fine and subsequent legal action.

11.BUSINESS ACTIVITY

Any member of the HOA or resident , wishing to conduct any business on his/her property must apply in writing to the HOA to conduct such business. The HOA will consider the application on merit, after taking into consideration the following:

- 11.1** The Compliance with Municipal by-laws
- 11.2** Increased traffic
- 11.3** Parking - employees and customers
- 11.4** Signage
- 11.5** Disturbance to other residents and community as a whole
- 11.6** Number of employees etc.
- 11.7** Hours of business
- The decision of the HOA and its Trustees is totally discretionary and will be final and binding.

12. THE GOLF COURSE

- 12.1** The Golf Course itself , its greens, bunkers and designated practice area, inclusive of putting green etc. is exclusively reserved for the use of bona fide golfers.
- 12.2** Residents may not use the above areas to walk, walk dogs or allow their children to enter upon the playing area, the green or bunkers
- 12.3** No bicycles or any other type of bike or vehicle will be allowed on the Golf Course, except those official vehicles engaged in maintenance or green keeping.
- 12.4** Tempering with signage or other equipment is strictly forbidden.
- 12.5** Take care and be alert when using designated walkways adjacent to the Golf Course - a golf ball can cause severe injury.

- See more at:

<http://www.eaglecanyon.co.za/index.php?page/125/Rules%20and%20Guidelines#sthash.PjxQbUEl.dpuf>

ARCHITECTURAL, BUILDING AND LANDSCAPE REQUIREMENTS

A. ARCHITECTURAL AND BUILDING REQUIREMENTS – EAGLE CANYON GOLF ESTATE:

1. It is the intention and aim that the development will consist of traditional and classical architectural styles such as French Provincial, Indonesian, Tuscan, Georgian, Highveld Victorian, English Country and American Plantation. In order to accommodate each owner's individuality, designs of a contemporary nature complying with these architectural requirements will also be considered by the Home Owner's Association (HOA).
2. The purpose of these design requirements is to encourage individual creativity while fostering a unity materials and finish to ensure that the overall development harmonises to create a balanced lifestyle for all residents. The following requirements will be implemented to ensure a sensitively constructed environment with a high quality aesthetic and maximum privacy.
3. Every member of the Association shall be obliged to abide by the Architectural, Building and Landscape Requirements.
4. The Architectural Review Committee shall be constituted as follows:
 - i) An appointed Trustee
 - ii) A practicing professional architect
 - iii) The Executive Estate Manager
 - iv) The Operations Manager
5. Construction and improvements must commence within 12 months of first registration of transfer of ownership of the particular stand. In order to reduce inconvenience to neighbours, as well as unsightliness, construction must proceed without lengthy interruptions and must be completed within 12 months from the date of commencement. Phased design and construction must be handled in such a way that the end of each phase is to be aesthetically acceptable to the Home Owner's Association.
6. The design of the dwelling unit and the entire stand must show a special sensitivity to the existing natural features, flora and topography. Permission is required before any existing trees are removed and all existing trees are to be shown on the site plan. Surrounding structures must be taken into account in the design process.
7. The controlling architect for the development is Morne Janse van Rensburg / Incredible Spaces, who will also serve on the Architectural review committee and will be responsible for the approval of all plans and buildings on behalf of the HOA.
8. No erf may be subdivided. No erf may be rezoned for any other use than for a single dwelling with outbuildings.

9. Erven may be consolidated with prior written permission from the HOA in which case the owner will be liable for all costs. The owner will be liable for the combined levy pertaining to each particular erf.

10. No boreholes may be drilled on any erf.

11. All houses, (including outbuildings) must be designed to conform with these architectural requirements to the satisfaction of the HOA. The objective is to achieve an interesting range of mutually compatible house designs within the flexibility afforded by the approved architectural style, whilst avoiding monotonous uniformity.

12. It is strongly recommended that if an alternative architect is employed by the purchaser, that such architect consult with the controlling architect serving on the Architectural review committee prior to the design of the proposed house to determine the intent of the design parameters set for the development.

1. TOWN PLANNING CONTROLS:

1.1. Coverage, Height and Density of Units

1.1.1. Floor area ratio - The floor area ratio shall, unless provided for herein, be in accordance with the ratio permitted in the Town Planning Scheme.

1.1.2. Maximum dwellings per erf – One dwelling only, NBR SABS 0400 allows for an additional 50m² flatlet attached to the main dwelling.

1.1.3. Maximum height

Not more than 2 storeys shall be erected vertically above each other, nor shall the height of any part of the structure exceed 8,5m (eight comma five metres) above the finished ground level vertically below that point. (This height does not restrict chimney stacks).

1.1.4. Coverage

Single storey dwellings

In order to enable residents to construct a single storey dwelling, with the same maximum floor area as is permitted for a double storey, the coverage for a single storey dwelling shall be 60% (sixty percent). The object is to encourage the construction of single storey rather than double storey houses on the estate.

Double storey dwellings

The ground floor coverage of double storey dwellings shall not exceed 50% (fifty percent) of the area of the stand. The area of the upper storey shall not exceed 50% (fifty percent) of the actual built area of the ground floor.

In order to accommodate more usable area on the first floor for houses under 300m² in total (e.g. in cases where 3 bedrooms are required on the upper storey) the HOA will be prepared to consider an increase of the area of the upper storey to 60% of the actual built area of the ground floor providing the maximum F.A.R. of 0,6 is not exceeded and the area does not exceed 300m² in total, inclusive of garages.

1.1.5. Double Volumes in houses are deemed to form part of the first floor area.

1.2. Building Lines:

1.2.1. Street Boundary

- Single storey dwelling - 5m from the street boundary
- Double storey - 5m from the street boundary
- Garage - 5m from the street boundary

1.2.2. Side Boundary

- Single Storey

No structures shall be erected within a distance of 2m (two metres) from the boundary between one stand and another.

- Double Storey

No double storey structure shall be allowed within a distance of 3m (three metres) of the side boundaries.

- Golf Course boundary

5m from the site boundary for dwellings but 1,5m for gazebos, pool houses etc. Building lines may be relaxed only with the written approval of the HOA and the local authority.

2. TREATMENT OF STAND BOUNDARIES:

2.1. Street Boundary:

Owners are encouraged not to use fencing on the street boundary or within 2m from street boundary, but rather to use bermed landscaping and/or structure of the buildings to create privacy and enclosure for children and pet animals or in compliance with item 2.3.

2.2. Golf Course Boundary:

If for reasons of privacy (for example to screen a swimming pool) it is desired to provide an impenetrable barrier between the house and the golf course such barrier shall be achieved by means of planting, or by means of a palisade fence design limited to 1,2m high and of a design and finish as approved by the HOA.

2.3. Side Spaces:

2.3.1. No security spikes, razor wire, electric shock wires or any similar devices shall be permitted on the boundary walls.

2.3.2. Walling between stands shall not exceed 1,8m in height, shall be plastered and painted on both sides, and shall be of design and finish approved by the HOA or finished in face-brick to comply with colour specifications as approved by the HOA.

2.3.3. If face-brick walls are intended for the boundary walls adjacent to neighbouring properties, these walls must be constructed to a 230mm brick wall thickness to allow for the neighbour's side of the wall to have a stock brick finish that can be plastered.

3. BUILDING DESIGN REQUIREMENTS:

3.1. All plans must be submitted for approval to the Home Owners' Association for the approval by the HOA. Only after this approval has been obtained in writing can plans be submitted to the local authority. It is the owner's responsibility to ensure that all plans are submitted and approved by both authorities prior to construction.

- 3.2. The privacy and views of the surrounding properties must be considered as a premium. As a general rule, no balconies on the upper level may overlook the living space of the adjacent dwelling unless approved by the HOA.
- 3.3. No staff accommodation may be nearer to the street than the main building and must be contained under the same roof or integrated into the overall design.
- 3.4. Staff accommodation and kitchen areas must open onto screened yards or screened patios.
- 3.5. Outbuildings and additions must match the original building design in style, elevation and material usage. All plans must indicate at least one enclosed garage and this must be built in conjunction with the original dwelling. No flat roofed carports will be permitted unless it matches and blends with the design of the main dwelling.
- 3.6. Yard and screen walls should be similar to the basic materials and colours of the building and comply with item 2.3
- 3.7. No garden sheds, Wendy houses, dog kennels and any covered facilities such as for caravans, boats or trailers are to be visible from the road or golf course and may not be placed in the side space (building lines).
- 3.8. No shade netting may be used
- 3.9. Solar heating panels, if used, must be incorporated into the building and form part of the basic structure and must be clearly shown and annotated on the approval drawings. All pipes to be concealed.
- 3.10. Awnings, TV aerials, blinds, satellite dishes and other items must form part of the basic structure and are to be clearly shown and annotated on the approval drawings.
- 3.11. All exposed plumbing and washing lines must be fully screened and not be visible from the street elevations and other elevations onto adjoining properties.
- 3.12. No deviations from the approved drawings will be permitted unless the deviation is re-submitted and approved in writing prior to construction.
- 3.13. No dwelling may be smaller than 150m² excluding garages and outbuildings.
- 3.14. Only approved smoke free type fireplaces are allowed.
- 3.15. Mechanical equipment such as air-conditioners (and grills), ducts, pool pumps etc., must be designed into the buildings and/or adequately enclosed or screened off from view.
- 3.16. It is the duty of any proposed owner, architect, contractor and/or subcontractor to familiarise him/herself with the current and proposed municipal services and their allocation on the whole of the Golf Estate. These municipal services include but are not limited to, water and electrical services, sewerage removal, storm water pipes and drainage, the HOA will not in any way

whatsoever be liable for any damage which any owner, proposed owner or architect, contractor or sub-contractor may suffer as a result of the existing situation or otherwise of any such municipal services.

4. APPROVED BUILDING MATERIALS:

4.1. Roof Coverings:

4.1.1. New houses shall have a combination of flat and pitched roofs or solely pitched roofs as approved by the HOA. Solely flat roofs are not permitted.

4.1.2. Roof coverings will only be of the following:

Natural slate

Concrete roof tiles

Steel sheeting colour by Chromadeck. (White and silver not permitted).

4.1.3. Flat sections of roof shall be concrete and surrounded by parapet walls. Waterproofing to be non reflective.

4.1.4. Drainage pipes shall be concealed from view.

4.1.5. Gutters and down pipes shall form an integral part of the design and shall be constructed and finished to match the style of the house.

4.1.6. No thatch or asbestos cement roof tiles will be permitted.

4.2. Walls:

4.2.1. External masonry walls shall be a minimum of 230mm brickwork to be plastered or face brick finish. Finishes to plaster with colour range submitted for approval by HOA. Colour face-brick or natural rock.

4.2.2. Face brick or natural rock (preferably loose packed sandstone) and colour specifications for face brick to be approved by HOA. Plinths to be a maximum height of 680mm (8 courses).

4.2.3. Coloured textured wall coatings such as Gamma Zennith, Cemcrete, Earthcote etc. are allowed. Colour range to be approved by HOA.

4.3. Windows, Shutters, Decks:

Timber or any powder coated/anodized aluminium or steel frames will be permitted with HOA approval. Colours for aluminium and steel to be approved by HOA. The use of timber shutters and decks will be encouraged.

4.4. Driveways, Parking, Paving and Landscaping:

4.4.1. Landscaping on sidewalks must be undertaken within the integrated landscape language of the Golf Estate to be approved by the HOA.

4.4.2. The landscaping theme of the Golf Estate is to encourage the use of indigenous trees and plants as per the landscape design. The golf course is to be planted with indigenous species in accordance with a landscape theme. The

portion of all properties that border on the golf course and the portion of all properties between the building lines and the street boundary must be landscaped accordingly and using the tree and plant species as per landscape design guidelines which will be binding on the owner. Landscaping on the sidewalk shall at all times be undertaken in such a manner so that it does not impede pedestrian access in any way.

4.4.3. All driveways to be fully paved with approved coloured pavers. Driveway widths are limited to 6 000mm at the junction with the public road.

4.4.4. Houses erected on the visual slopes of the site will need special attention to reduce the interruption to the horizon line and any other potential visual aspect. This will need to be done by, inter alia, additional landscaping and controls to the scale of the buildings. Where possible, cut and fill to be minimised and the buildings rather to be “terraced” down the slope of the site. Note; The maximum height of face brick plinths above ground, see previous comment re Natural Ground Level, will be limited to 680mm (8 courses) and must therefore step down the slope of the erf where applicable.

4.4.5. Only timber garage doors and/or approved aluminium doors may be used.

5. PROHIBITED BUILDING MATERIAL:

5.1. The Following Building Materials Are Prohibited:

5.1.1. Unpainted plaster, unplastered stock brick walls or concrete block walls

5.1.2. No precast concrete walls. No swimming pool type mesh fencing will be allowed

5.1.3. Unpainted reflective metal sheeting for roof materials

5.1.4. Thatch roofs for houses and/or lapas

5.1.5. Wood panel fencing

5.1.6. Razor wire, security spikes, electric fencing or similar security features.

5.1.7. No externally fitted burglar bars will be permitted (only if specifically approved by the HOA, fitted type will be approved). Tuscan typically has external bars.

6. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES, CONDUCT RULES FOR BUILDING CONTRACTORS SUB-CONTRACTORS AND SUPPLIERS, OPERATING WITHIN THE GOLF ESTATE:

As the building within the residential estate will be constructed over a lengthy time period, the following guidelines have been formulated for the benefit of residents:

6.1. Site Access and Exit:

6.1.1. The owner will advise the HOA who the building contractor will be and ensure that the contractor signs and complies with Builder's code of conduct drafted by the HOA from time to time and pay the building deposit. The owner acknowledges he is aware that the Estate is a security Estate and will at all times adhere to the security regulations and controls and agrees to co-operate with the HOA in the interest of maintaining security on the Estate.

6.1.2. Detailed procedures will be made available by the HOA to Contractors, in terms of the builder's code of conduct that will include security measures for authorised access and identification of vehicles and all personnel. It is the contractor's responsibility to remain updated on all required procedures.

6.1.3. As improvements to the security and the access controls are ongoing, these procedures will be reviewed from time to time.

6.1.4. Hours of work: Contractors may only enter the Estate after 07h00 in the morning and must vacate the Estate by 18h00. No workers will be allowed to remain overnight on site. Contractors may negotiate with the HOA's appointed security company for this service, if required.

6.1.5. Construction will be limited to Monday 07h00 to Friday 18h00. No construction will be permitted on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays. Only emergency work with approval of the HOA may be implemented. A property is deemed to be under construction until permission to occupy the property has been granted by the HOA and the property has in fact been occupied.

6.1.6. Only authorised vehicles will be allowed onto the Estate. There is a load restriction of 6 tons per axle and the vehicles may be subject to axle load testing by the HOA prior to being allowed entry. No articulated vehicles are permitted in the Estate, unless by prior authorisation of the HOA. It is the obligation of the Contractor to notify his suppliers of this, and the HOA shall not entertain any claims of losses or damages in this regard.

6.1.7. Deliveries must be scheduled for between 07h00 and 15h00 on weekdays only.

6.1.8. The Estate Security personnel reserve the right to subject vehicles entering or leaving the Estate to a search.

6.1.9. Points of access: Contractors shall only access and exit through the designated contractors gates.

6.1.10. Any contravention of security and access rules will be severely dealt with by the HOA, and depending on the nature and the circumstances, could lead to the suspension of building work, barring of access to the Estate and/or fines being imposed.

6.1.11. Owner accepts responsibility for any loss or damage caused by his contractor, sub-contractor or supplier.

6.2. Housekeeping and Tidiness:

6.2.1. The site is to be kept as clean as possible of building rubble and general cleaning

6.2.2. and good housekeeping practice must take place during building operations. Skips must be utilised on each any stand where construction is in progress to house all rubble and emptied regularly to prevent spillage on the site. All papers and other light weight objects shall be properly contained so that they cannot be blown about in the wind.

6.2.3. No concrete, cement or other building materials may be temporally stored, or mixed or prepared on any of the roadways, kerbs and pavements. Materials which are off loaded by a supplier or Contractor may not encroach onto the adjacent site, the pavement or roadway. Where suppliers fail to adhere to this, the responsible Contractor shall move the materials accordingly. The Contractor is also responsible for removal of any sand or rubble that may have washed onto the road.

6.2.4. The Contractor is to ensure that the roads and the vicinity of his house site is always kept neat and tidy, including materials or mud or soil being driven or dropped onto the road or sidewalk.

6.2.5. The Contractor shall provide adequate facilities for rubbish disposal and ensure that the workers use the provided facilities and that the rubbish is removed every Friday. No rubbish may be burnt or buried on site. No form of paper, cement bags, tile off cuts, ceiling boards, roof tiles, rubble or the like is to be felt lying around, nor be allowed to blow off the site.

6.2.6. Accumulation of hardcore for fill shall be neatly piled. With the HOA's consent on-site disposal dump or soil zones may be arranged.

6.2.7. With the dams on the Estate, pollution and contamination of groundwater and run-off water is particularly sensitive. Contractors shall ensure special care in their handling, disposal and cleaning up operations, with particular note to paint, tile grout, tile adhesive, cement and rhinolite, chemicals, oil and fuel, etc. Special preventative controls must be taken on waterfront sites to avoid spillage.

6.2.8. Fires for cooking or other purposes will not be permitted, and Contractors shall ensure approved alternative meal arrangements are made. Contractors must ensure that their employees make no fires for heating purposes.

6.2.9. The Contractor shall provide approved portable chemical toilets for the workers. Adjacent construction sites may share toilets if approved by the HOA. Toilets and changing facilities shall be suitably positioned and kept hygienic. Toilets may not be linked into the Estate's sewers.

6.2.10. Only one standard builder's/architect's board as purchased from the HOA shall be erected per site, and such board is to be erected neatly in the corner of each site. Boards are to be maintained in plumb and level position throughout the contract, and must be removed immediately after completion of each house construction.

6.2.11. No Contractors, sub-contractors, suppliers or advertising boards of any kind will be allowed.

6.2.12. Construction materials may only be delivered to the house site on an as-needs daily basis for installation by the latest the Friday of that week, and surplus materials must not be allowed to visibly accumulate on the house site.

6.2.13. The certification of completion by the HOA includes for the site to be entirely cleared of all rubble, surplus materials, and be impeccably clean, the verge re-installed and all damage repaired, all to the satisfaction of the HOA. All services must be connected and operational.

6.2.14. Contractors shall screen the stand boundary facing the golf course or park area with green shade cloth suitable secured for the full period the stand is under construction. Screening shall be maintained at all times in a condition to the satisfaction of the HOA.

6.2.15. Upon submission of building plans, a building performance deposit of R5 000.00 will be deposited and held in trust (free of interest) by the HOA.

- i) The deposit amount will be used in event there is a breach or non-performance to remove rubble or make good any damage caused by the Contractor or his sub-contractors or suppliers, including kerbing, landscaping, community services, roads, irrigation etc. and for any spot fines.
- ii) The deposit will be forfeited if there is any non-compliance or breach of any or all of the provisions of the Architectural and Landscaping Guidelines by the owner, contractor or sub-contractors or suppliers.
- iii) The building performance deposit shall be released once clause 6.2.14 has been complied with and the Local Authority's certificate of completion and occupancy has been issued.

6.2.16. Contractor vehicles shall not be parked or left in the road, and a screened designated parking area shall be arranged with the HOA.

7. APPROVAL OF BUILDING PLANS:

7.1.1. Stage 1: Site development plans and sketches of both the proposed floor plans and the elevations of buildings shall be submitted to the Architectural Review Committee (ARC) of the HOA for its consideration of the conceptual design principles at its regular meetings. The stage 1 drawings shall be accompanied by a scrutiny fee of R1 100 and by a certificate from the architect of person who prepared the plans confirming the plans comply with these architectural guidelines and that the correct positioning of the boundary pegs have been established.

7.1.2. Stage 2: Detailed design drawings shall be prepared so as to comply with the conditions of approval issued by the HOA in respect of stage 1 drawings. Three copies of these stage 2 drawings shall also be submitted to the

(ARC) of the HOA for consideration. Where alterations or amendments are required these too shall be shown on revised drawings.

7.1.3. Stage 3: After the detailed drawings have been approved by the (ARC) of the HOA the approved drawings shall be submitted together with the prescribed plan fees and connection fees by the owner to the Local Authority for its consideration and approval.

7.1.4. Stage 4: A copy of HOA/Council approved plans shall be kept on site and available at all times.

7.2. Occupation:

Occupation of the premises will only be allowed after the home owner has produced an occupation certificate from the City Council, a copy of which must be submitted to HOA. All services to the house are connected and operational.

8. RESIDENTIAL 2 AND 3 ERVEN:

8.1. The Owner/Developer of a Residential 2 and 3 zoned erf must submit to the HOA, for approval, full documentation of Development Proposals inclusive of

8.1.1. Site development plan

8.1.2. Architecture

8.1.3. Landscaping proposals

8.1.4. Programme of development

Such documentation must be approved by Home Owner's Association. Prior to submission to Council.

8.2. The HOA will consider each application received on merit and may approve architecture of whatever nature, should it, in its sole discretion, decide such architecture to be of benefit to the Estate.

8.3. The conditions contained in the Architectural and Landscaping Guidelines for Eagle Canyon Golf Estate will apply in its entirety, save where the HOA explicitly grants concession or variation in writing.

8.4. The detailed drawings of each house to be constructed on the erf will be submitted to the HOA for approval and the scrutiny fees, as described in the Architectural guidelines, will apply.

8.5. Notwithstanding the area of zoning of any sub-divided erf, it is expressly conditional that only 1 residential dwelling be allowed to be constructed on any sub-division of a Residential 2 or 3 erf.

8.6. The Owner/Developer of any erf may not rezone such erf or lodge an application to rezone such erf without prior approval having been obtained from the HOA which may be denied by the HOA in its sole discretion. For purpose of

clarifying this paragraph “rezoning” will mean “apply to change the zoning as described in the Conditions of Establishment” and both density as well as usage applies.

8.7. The Owner/Developer may not sell or in any way dispose of the erf, any portion thereof or any interest or right therein without all conditions contained in the Architectural and Landscaping Guidelines being binding on such Purchaser.

8.8. The construction of any residential scheme must commence within (18) eighteen months from the date of first registration of transfer of ownership of the particular residential 2 stand. Phased design must be handled in such a way that the end of each phase is to be aesthetically acceptable to the HOA. Should the current owner of the residential stand resell the same stand it is incumbent upon the Owner to inform the Purchaser of this rule.

8.9. Should the Owner/Developer fail to comply with the commencement Clause 8.8 as above a penalty equivalent to 3 times the monthly levy will be enforced on a monthly basis

8.10. Any Purchaser of any individual portion or erf of a residential 2 or 3 erf must over and above these guidelines comply with the theme and style required by the Developer and/or the HOA.

9. SOLAR HEATING:

9.1. Solar Panels are to be positioned as discreetly as possible, preferably on flat concrete roofs concealed by parapets. Pitched roofs may only be used if no other position is possible.

9.2. No Close-coupled Units (i.e. incorporating an exposed hot water cylinder) may be used at all. Hot Water Cylinders must be concealed in the roof space.

9.3. All pipe work from Solar Panels to storage cylinder is to be concealed and taken directly into roof space.

9.4. All Solar Panels are to be securely fixed to roof.

9.5. All Solar Panels are to be submitted to the Architectural Review Committee for approval and will be treated as minor works.

B LANDSCAPE RULES

1. The individual homeowners are responsible for the general landscaping of the individual stands, sidewalks and planting thereof. It also includes irrigation or watering systems and the maintenance thereof according to the maintenance guidelines of the HOA.

2. The landscaping theme of the Golf Estate is to encourage the use of indigenous trees and plants as per the landscape design. The golf course is to be planted with indigenous species in accordance with a landscape theme. The

portion of all properties that border on the golf course and the portion of all properties between the building lines and the street boundary must be landscaped accordingly using the tree and plant species as per landscape design guidelines.

3. Landscaping of sidewalks must be undertaken within the integrated landscape language of the Golf Estate, and approved by the Architectural Review Committee with assistance from the appointed landscape consultant and specific tree planting list for streetscaping provided by the HOA. Conditions of paragraph 4.4.2 in section A shall be observed.

4. The maintenance of the individual sites and sidewalks to be as per the specifications laid down by the HOA. Vacant stands and their adjacent sidewalks must be kept free of weeds and cut as per HOA specifications.

5. No boreholes are allowed on site. All watering to be off Municipal supply.

6. It is important to note that no indigenous or natural vegetation may be removed without prior approval of the HOA.

7. No bollards or obstructions to be constructed or planted on sidewalks.

List of street trees:

1. Augusta Boulevard/Pebble Beach Drive/Eagle Creek Drive: *Pittosporum viridiflorum*
2. Muirfield Drive: *Acacia caffra*, *Combretum erythrophyllum*, *Rhus lancea*
3. Monarch Lane: *Acacia karroo*, *Olea woodiana*, *Vepris lanceolata*
4. Bay Hill Avenue: *Acacia caffra*, *Buddleja saligna*, *Olea capensis*
5. Tom's Place: *Acacia caffra*, *combretum erythrophyllum*, *Kiggelaria africana*
6. Sawgrass Lane: *buddleja saligna*, *Celtis africana*, *Kiggelaria africana*
7. Cypress Point Lane: *Heteropyxis natalensis*, *Maytenus undata*, *Rapanea Melanophloeos*
8. La Cantered Crescent: *Heteropyxis natalensis*, *Kirkia wilmsii*, *Maytenus undata*
9. Oakland Hill Crescent: *Bolusanthus speciosus*, *Kgelia africana*, *Rhus leptodictya*
10. Bobby's Lane: *Bolusanthus speciosus*, *Pappea capensis*, *Rapanea melanophloeos*
11. Jack's Place: *Acacia xantophloea*, *Apodytes dimidiata*, *Ptaeroxylon obliquum*
12. Fairfield Lane: *Acacia xantophloea*, *Combretum krausii*, *Verpris lanceolata*

13. Nick's Place: *Acacia sierberiana* subsp. var. *woodii*, *Combretum erythrophyllum*, *Peltophorum africanum*
14. Sam's Place: *Kigelia Africana*, *Rhus leptodictya*, *Terminalia sericea*
15. Turn Berry Crescent: *Kirkia wilmsii*, *Pappea capensis*, *Ptaeroxylon obliquum*
16. Eagle Canyon Boulevard: *Ilex mitis*

Plant list for gardens:

Gardens are to be planted with indigenous shrubs and ground covers as far as possible (at least 80%). Only 20% of the sidewalks are allowed to be lawn – the remainder to be planted with shrubs and groundcovers. All trees to be indigenous; a proposed list will be attached. The private gardens to be no more than 60% lawn and the remainder planted. Herewith the proposed plant list:

Shrubs:

<i>Anisodonteia scabrosa</i>	<i>Leonotus leonurus</i>
<i>Dodonaea angustifolia</i>	<i>Cyperus papyrus</i>
<i>Bauhinia galpini</i>	<i>Melianthus major</i>
<i>Euryops pectinatus</i>	<i>Nuxia congesta</i>
<i>Bauhinia natalensis</i>	<i>Ochna serrulata</i>
<i>Felicia filifolia</i>	<i>Ortosiphon labiatus</i>
<i>Buddleja auriculata</i>	<i>Pavetta gardenifolia</i>
<i>Freylinia tropica</i>	<i>Pelargonium graveolens</i>
<i>Buddleja saligna</i>	<i>Plectranthus neochilus</i>
<i>Grewia occidentalis</i>	<i>Plumbago auriculata</i>
<i>Carissa macrocarpa</i>	<i>Polygala myrthifolia</i>
<i>Grewia flava</i>	<i>Rhamnus prinoides</i>
<i>Cassinopsis ilicifolia</i>	<i>Salvia africana-lutea</i>
<i>Halleria lucida</i>	<i>Tecomaria capensis</i>
<i>Clerodendrum glabrum</i>	<i>Helichrysum splendidum</i>
<i>Coleonema pulchellum</i>	<i>Hypericum revolutum</i>
<i>Cyathea dregei</i>	
Groundcovers:	

Agapanthus spp	Sansevieria hyacinthoides
Gladiolus spp	Chondropetalum tectorum
Aloe spp (indigenous spp)	Scabiosa africana
Hesperantha coccinea	Crassula multiclava
Anthericum saundersii	Senecio macroglossus
Jasminum angulare	Crocosmia aurea
Aptenia cordifolia	Stachys aethiopica
Juncus effuses	Cyperus prolifer
Arcotis spp	Strelitzia reginae
Kniphofia spp	Cyperus textiles
Asparagus densiflorus	Sutera cordate
Lantana rugosa	Delosperma herbeum
Asparagus ramoisissimus	Tulbaghia violacea
Osteospermum jacundum	Dierama spp
Asystasia gangetia	Watsonia angusta
Othonna carnossa	Dietes spp
Barleira obtuse	Zantedeschia aethiopica
Pelargonium spp	Felicia spp
Bulbine frutescens	Geranium incanum
Plectranthus madagascariensis	Gazania krebsiana
Carpobrotus edulis	Rhumorah adiantiformis
Chlorophytum comosum	
Trees:	
Landscaping:	
Brachylaena discolor	Rhamnus prinoides
Noltea africana	Faidherbida albida
Cussonia paniculata	Rhus burchellii
Nuxia congesta	Faurea salinga
Dais cotinifolia	Rhus pyroides
Olea europaea subsp. africana	Greyia sutherlandii

Dombeya rotundifolia

Pavetta lanceolata

Euclea crispa

Podocarpus henkelii

Erythrina lysistemon

Wetland areas:

Heteropyxis cuescens

Rhus gerardii

Syzygium guineense

Schotia brachypetala

Heteromorpha trifoliata

Spirostachys africana

Leucosidea sericea

Ziziphus mucronata

Phoenix reclinata

Salix mucronata



HOMEOWNER AND RESIDENT CHARTER

By virtue of their home ownership or residency within *Eagle Canyon Golf Estate*, members and residents shall be entitled to the following, as agreed by the Home Owners Association:

- 1. Controlled access to the Estate and security protocols that support the protection of property and the safety of families;**
- 2. A secure and well-maintained Estate with a community oriented spirit, in which families and children can all enjoy the amenities and the open common public areas;**
- 3. A diligent Home Owners Association that applies prudent financial and administrative controls and industry "best practice" for the Estate;**
- 4. A clubhouse with a family orientation, that offers value for money and good quality food and beverage standards for both golfers and non-golfers;**
- 5. Ongoing communication to keep home owners and residents informed about the Estate and relevant social events;**
- 6. Fair and reasonable enforcement of the Rules that govern day to day community-oriented living, with the emphasis on individuals taking responsibility for their own property and family.**

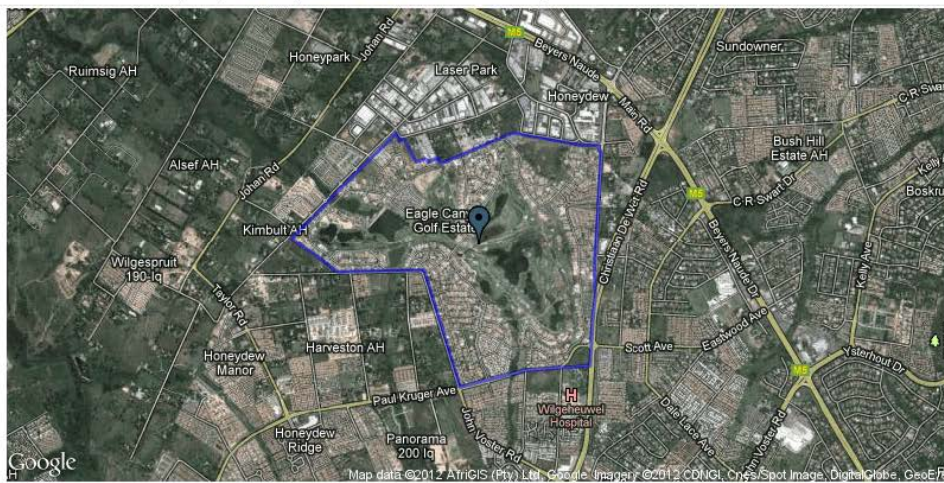
The above can only be delivered with everybody's commitment to the following code of conduct:

- 1. Mutual respect by all residents, employees and visitors;**
- 2. Compliance with Estate Rules as set out in the Home Owners Association "Rules and Architectural Guidelines" as amended from time to time;**
- 3. Compliance with municipal and traffic by-laws.**
- 4. A community-minded spirit with tolerance and reasonableness being the primary principles, which underpin our social behavior and fairness towards one another.**
- 5. A security and social awareness that supports the protection of property and family safety.**
- 6. Social and family behavior that is consistent with the community-minded spirit and quality standards for which *Eagle Canyon Golf Estate* has become recognized;**
- 7. Compliance with the due process outlined by the Home Owners Association for the logging of queries and complaints and their escalation to the Estate General Manager. Ultimately, should this process be exhausted, the opportunity to be heard by the Board of Directors or a duly constituted panel comprising Directors and independent residents whose ruling will then be final and binding on all parties.**

Appendix C



Estate Details			
Estate Name:	EAGLE CANYON GOLF ESTATE	Area per Unit:	1 851 m²
Suburb:	EAGLE CANYON GOLF ESTATE	Total Size:	2 576 000 m²
Township:	HONEYDEW MANOR	No of SS units on Estate:	418
Municipality:	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	No of Erven on Estate:	954
Coordinates (Lat/Long):	Google Maps: -26.0889, 27.9185 Street View		No of Properties on Estate: 1392

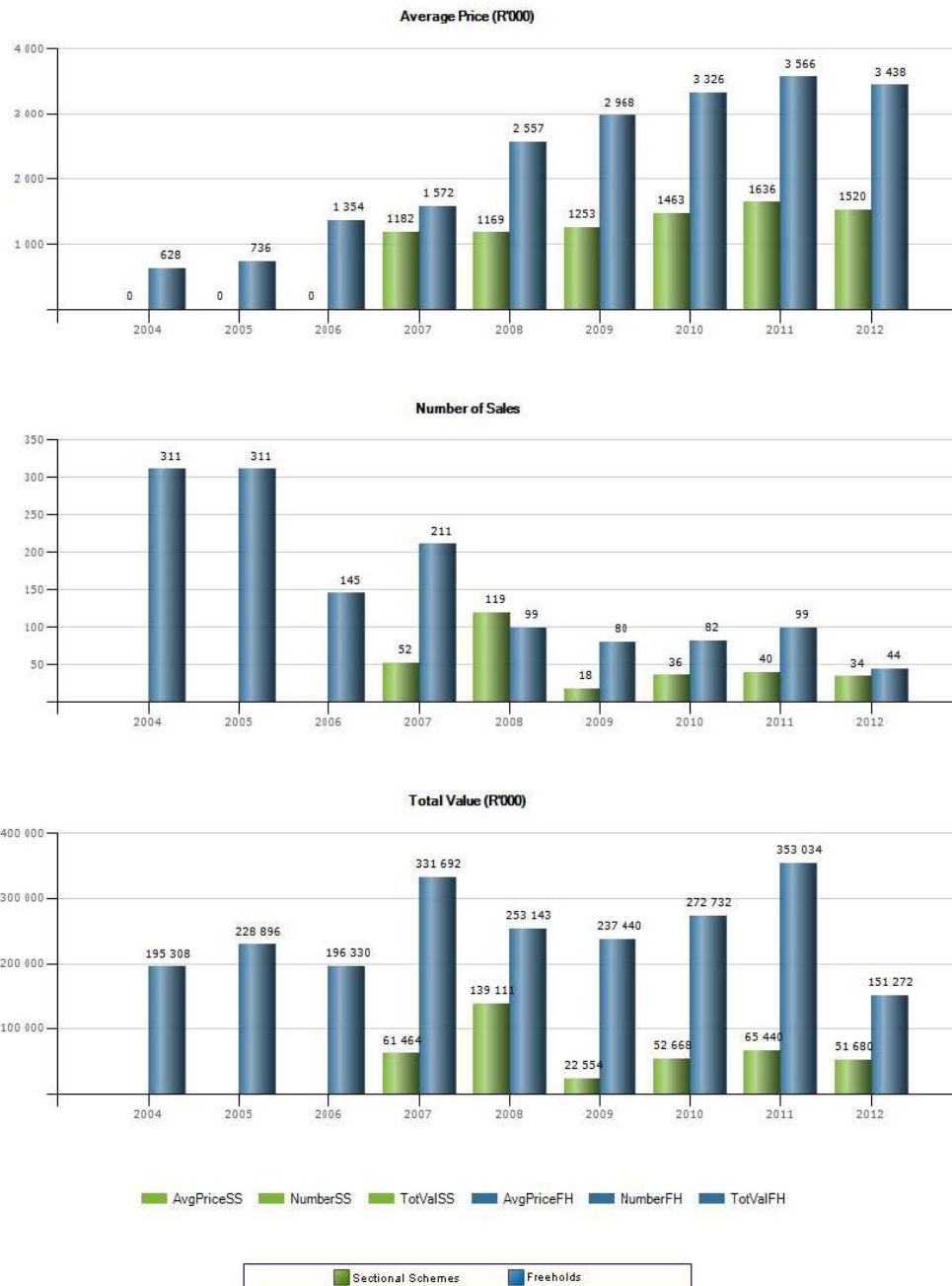


Transfer Information (Freehold Units in the Estate)							
<p>i The Transfer Information provides a list of the last ten sales that occurred for properties within the estate. The sales are displayed separately for freehold and sectional title properties (if applicable). These sales are ordered from the most recent registration date and this information is updated on a weekly basis.</p>							
	Erf #	Portion	Reg Date	Purchase Date	Purchase Price	Erf Size	Title Deed No
VIEW	345	0	20120906	20120713	R 1 950 000	1309	T33541/2012
VIEW	215	12	20120831	20120614	R 2 700 000	446	T32594/2012
VIEW	308	49	20120829	20120510	R 2 875 000	530	T32278/2012
VIEW	1182	0	20120817	20120518	R 5 200 000	799	T30509/2012
VIEW	404	0	20120815	20111108	R 4 600 000	921	T29434/2012
VIEW	351	0	20120731	20120321	R 2 700 000	1008	T27182/2012
VIEW	459	0	20120717	20120215	R 4 000 000	923	T25232/2012
VIEW	416	0	20120716	20111128	R 3 750 000	882	T25007/2012
VIEW	85	0	20120710	20111029	R 4 850 000	1041	T24322/2012
VIEW	489	0	20120706	20120506	R 6 300 000	1076	T24059/2012

Transfer Information (Sectional Title Units in the Estate)							
<p>i The Transfer Information provides a list of the last ten sales that occurred for properties within the estate. The sales are displayed separately for freehold and sectional title properties (if applicable). These sales are ordered from the most recent registration date and this information is updated on a weekly basis.</p>							
	Sect Scheme Name	Unit	Size	Reg Date	Purchase Date	Purchase Price	Title Deed No
VIEW	SS LA BELLUCIA	27	216	20120831	20120424	R 2 100 000	ST32919/2012
VIEW	SS FISH EAGLE	5	165	20120823	20120428	R 1 700 000	ST31376/2012
VIEW	SS PEBBLE BEACH PLACE	17	92	20120816	20120129	R 850 000	ST30257/2012
VIEW	SS CANYON VIEW	1	176	20120815	20120518	R 1 625 000	ST29994/2012
VIEW	SS LA BELLUCIA	34	174	20120731	20120117	R 1 650 000	ST27559/2012
VIEW	SS LAKE SIDE VILLAGE	31	333	20120712	20120327	R 3 495 000	ST24777/2012
VIEW	SS LAKE SIDE VILLAGE	73	192	20120712	20120131	R 2 100 000	ST24779/2012
VIEW	SS LA BELLUCIA	53	118	20120702	20120228	R 955 000	ST23501/2012

Growth and Activity

i The **Growth and Activity** graphs show the average price and total volume of sales in the estate by property type for recent years. Only properties which Lightstone classify as privately owned are used in these calculations and sales prices which are not in-line with market values for these properties are excluded from the analysis. This is done to arrive at a more accurate estimate of market value for properties within the estate. The information used in this analysis is updated on a monthly basis.



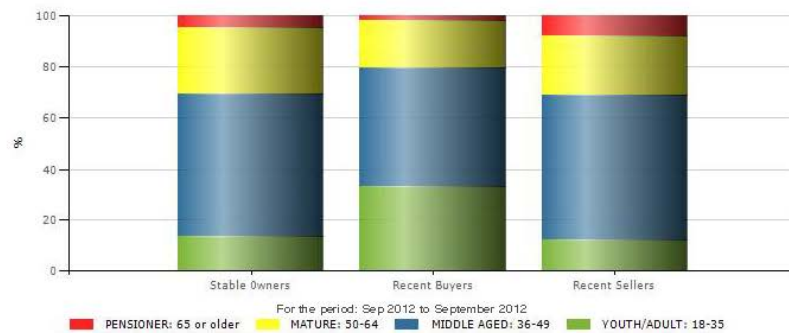
Period of Ownership

i The **Period of Ownership** graph depicts the tenure of ownership in the estate and is a measure of ownership stability. A recent seller is defined as a seller of a property where the sale was registered in the deeds office in the last 12 months.

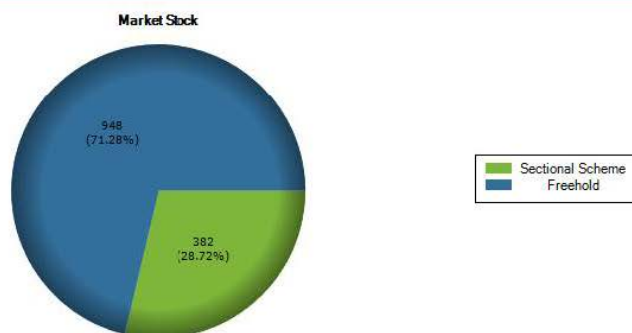


Age of Residents

i The **Age of Residents** bar graph shows the age distribution of owners in the suburb and is split into residents and recent sellers.



Market Stock



Estate Ranking

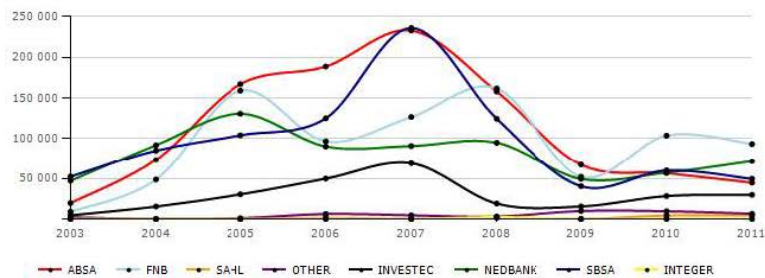
The **Estate Ranking** tables enable users to identify those estates most similar in average price to the subject estate. The ranking is provided against other estates in the municipality, province and country.

National Ranking							Number of Estates: 3796
	Estate	Suburb	Municipality	Province	No of Properties	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	BASSONIA ESTATE	BASSONIA ROCK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	517	542	R 3 139 270
VIEW	BLUE VALLEY GOLF AND COUNTRY ESTATE	BLUE VALLEY GOLF AND COUNTRY ESTATE	CITY OF TSHWANE	GAUTENG	1537	543	R 3 137 813
VIEW	KENT PLACE	HYDE PARK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	13	544	R 3 131 818
VIEW	ST ANDREWS VILLAGE	WALMER	NELSON MANDELA BAY	EASTERN CAPE	32	545	R 3 129 630
VIEW	BROMLEY CLOSE	BRYANSTON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	12	546	R 3 127 778
VIEW	EAGLE CANYON GOLFE STATE	EAGLE CANYON GOLFE STATE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	1392	547	R 3 124 130
VIEW	BLACK EAGLE ESTATE	POORTVIEW AH	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	16	548	R 3 120 000
VIEW	ST ANDREWS BY KNIGHTSBRIDGE	DOUGLASDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	34	549	R 3 119 355
VIEW	SOUTH DOWNS ESTATE	SOUTH DOWNS ESTATE	CITY OF TSHWANE	GAUTENG	446	550	R 3 115 394
VIEW	TANGLEWOOD	BEVERLEY	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	42	551	R 3 112 857
VIEW	BERNARDINO	WOODMEAD EAST	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	48	552	R 3 105 435

Municipal Ranking							Number of Estates: 1303
	Estate	Suburb	Municipality	Province	No of Properties	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	TIVOLI	STRATHAVON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	13	367	R 3 154 545
VIEW	CARRINGTON POINTE	STRATHAVON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	15	368	R 3 140 000
VIEW	BASSONIA ESTATE	BASSONIA ROCK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	517	369	R 3 139 270
VIEW	KENT PLACE	HYDE PARK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	13	370	R 3 131 818
VIEW	BROMLEY CLOSE	BRYANSTON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	12	371	R 3 127 778
VIEW	EAGLE CANYON GOLFE STATE	EAGLE CANYON GOLFE STATE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	1392	372	R 3 124 130
VIEW	BLACK EAGLE ESTATE	POORTVIEW AH	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	16	373	R 3 120 000
VIEW	ST ANDREWS BY KNIGHTSBRIDGE	DOUGLASDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	34	374	R 3 119 355
VIEW	TANGLEWOOD	BEVERLEY	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	42	375	R 3 112 857
VIEW	BERNARDINO	WOODMEAD EAST	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	48	376	R 3 105 435
VIEW	HAMPTON PARK	DOUGLASDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	15	377	R 3 103 846

Lending By Institution (Values in R000)

The **Lending by Institution** graph shows the total bonds registered by bank and by year for recent years. Values in R000.



Amenities



The **Amenities** shows the closest amenities to the subject estate including the distance from the subject estate.

Type	Amenity	Distance
CombinedSchool	Aurora Private School	1.98 km
Hospital/Clinic	Crescent Private Clinic	4.01 km
PoliceStation	Police SAPS - Honeydew	1.75 km
PrePrimarySchool	Trinity House Pre Primary School	1.89 km
PrimarySchool	Boskop Laerskool	1.40 km
School	Willow Ridge Special School	1.27 km
SecondarySchool	Trinity House High School	1.90 km
ShoppingCentre	Eagles Landing Shopping Centre	1.21 km
ShoppingCentre	Honeydew Shopping Centre	1.37 km
ShoppingCentre	Honey Junction	1.73 km
ShoppingCentre	The Ridge Shopping Centre	1.87 km
ShoppingCentre	Rock Cottage Shopping Centre	1.95 km

Disclaimer

Please note that Lightstone obtains data from a broad range of 3rd party sources and – despite the application of proprietary data cleaning processes – cannot guarantee the accuracy of the information provided in this report. It is expressly recorded that information provided in this report is not intended to constitute legal, financial, accounting, tax, investment, consulting or other professional advice.

This report does not contain any confidential information relating to the property owner or any owners residing in the suburb. All bond, home loan and property registration information in the reports is from the Deeds Office where information on all property registrations, property transfers as well as all registered bonds / home loans are kept. This is public domain information and accessible by any person.

Explanatory Notes

The **Estate Details** section shows a map with the outline of the estate which assists the user in visually referencing the area.

The **Transfer Information** provides a list of the last ten sales that occurred for properties within the estate. The sales are displayed separately for freehold and sectional title properties (if applicable). These sales are ordered from the most recent registration date and this information is updated on a weekly basis.

The **Growth and Activity** graphs show the average price and total volume of sales in the estate by property type for recent years. Only properties which Lightstone classify as privately owned are used in these calculations and sales prices which are not in-line with market values for these properties are excluded from the analysis. This is done to arrive at a more accurate estimate of market value for properties within the estate. The information used in this analysis is updated on a monthly basis.

The **Tenure of Owners** graph depicts the tenure of ownership in the estate and is a measure of ownership stability.

The **Age of Residents** bar graph shows the age distribution of owners in the estate and is split into residents and recent sellers.

The **Market Stock** gives a view of the number of freehold and sectional title properties within the estate.

The **Estate Ranking** tables enable users to identify those estates most similar in average price to the subject estate. The ranking is provided against other estates in the municipality, province and country.

The **Bond Information** table shows the bonds registered in the estate, split into bond type (ordinary loan, further advance and switch) and institution. The registrations for the last 12 months are shown.

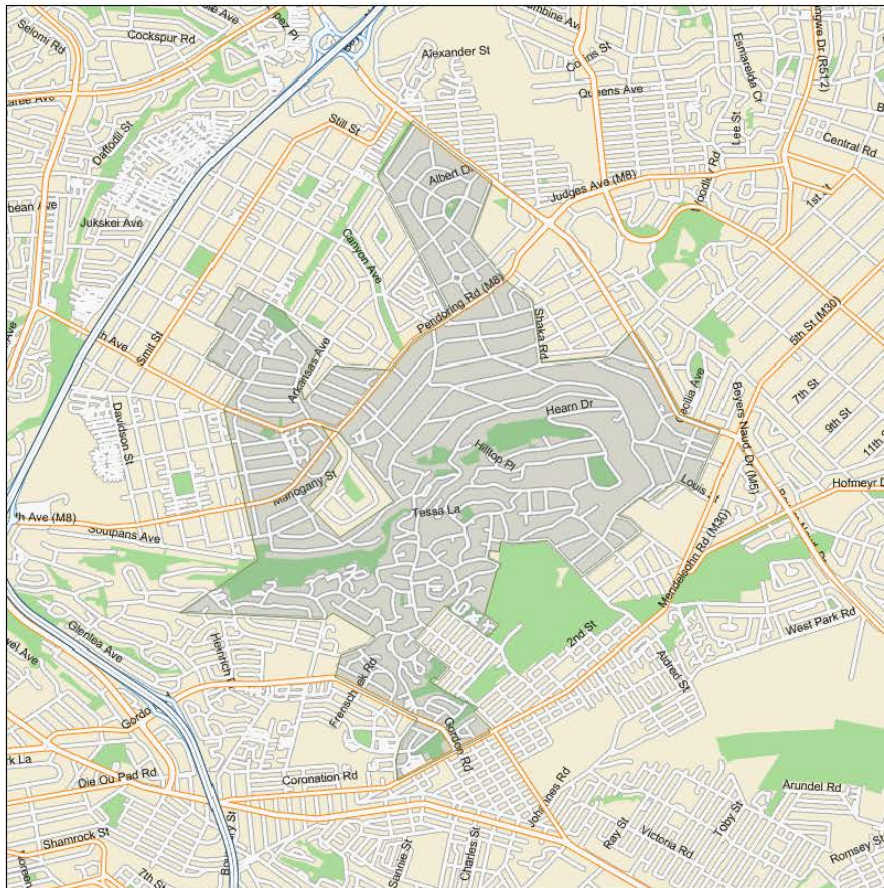
The **Lending By Institution** graph shows the total bonds registered by bank by year for the past 5 years in the estate.

The **Amenities Listing** shows the closest amenities to the subject estate including the distance from the subject estate.

Suburb Details

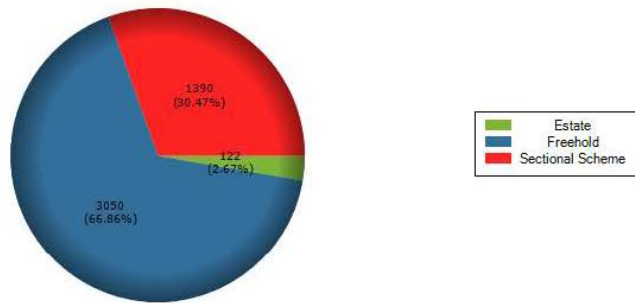
i The **Suburb Details** section shows a map with the outline of the suburb which assists the user in visually referencing the area.

Suburb:	NORTHCLIFF	Municipality:	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG
Township:	NORTHCLIFF	Province:	GAUTENG



Market Stock

Market Stock



Demographics

Average Household Income Range: R51,000 - R67,000

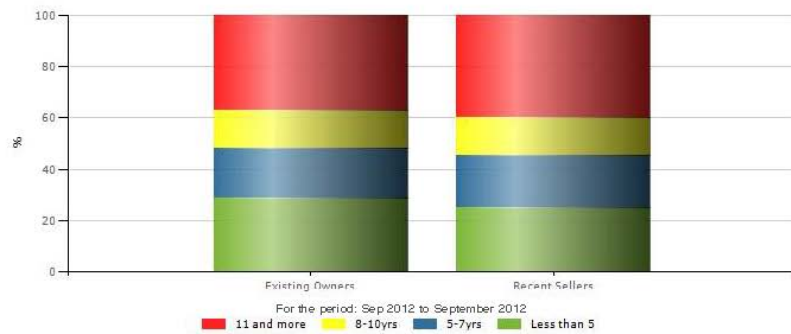
Predominant LSM: LSM10High

Number Adults: 10322

Period of Ownership

The **Period of Ownership** bar graph depicts the tenure of ownership in the suburb and is a measure of ownership stability.

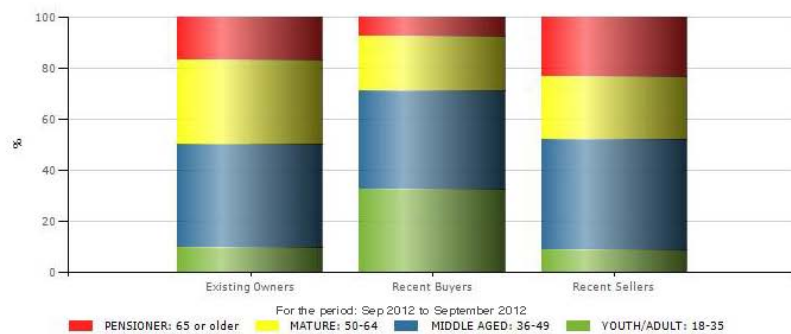
Recent sellers: Profile of residents that sold over the last year.



Age of Residents

The **Age of Residents** bar graph shows the age distribution of owners in the suburb and is split into residents and recent sellers.

Recent sellers: Age profile of sellers who sold over the last year.



Transfer Information Up to Sep 2012
Property Transfer Information

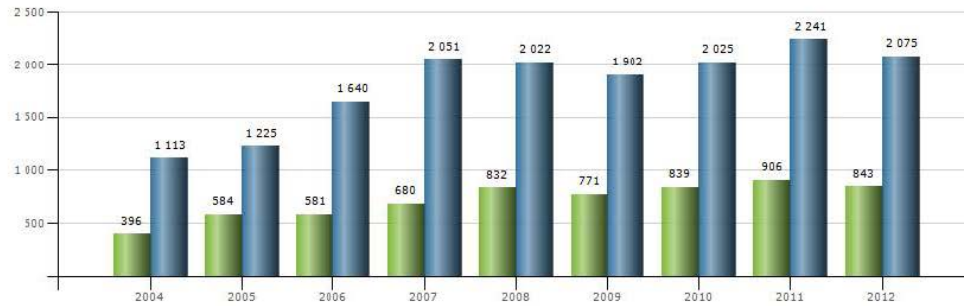
FIRST TIME REGISTRATIONS										
Last 3 Months (July 2012 to September 2012)						Last 12 Months (October 2011 to September 2012)				
EST	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R400000 - R800000		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R800000 - R1.5mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R1.5mil - R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Greater than R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Total	0			0	0	0			0	0
FH	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R400000 - R800000		0.0		0.0	0	1	33.3	600	7.4	600
R800000 - R1.5mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R1.5mil - R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Greater than R3mil		0.0		0.0	0	2	66.7	7 515	92.6	3 758
Total	0			0	0	3	100	8 115	100	2 705
SS	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000	1	100.0	330	100.0	330	1	33.3	330	15.9	330
R400000 - R800000		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R800000 - R1.5mil		0.0		0.0	0	2	66.7	1 750	84.1	875
R1.5mil - R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Greater than R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Total	1	100	330	100	330	3	100	2 080	100	693
REPEAT SALES										
Last 3 Months (July 2012 to September 2012)						Last 12 Months (October 2011 to September 2012)				
EST	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000	3	75.0	950	29.7	317	5	71.4	1 540	32.0	308
R400000 - R800000		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
R800000 - R1.5mil		0.0		0.0	0	1	14.3	1 020	21.2	1 020
R1.5mil - R3mil	1	25.0	2 250	70.3	2 250	1	14.3	2 250	46.8	2 250
Greater than R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Total	4	100	3 200	100	800	7	100	4 810	100	687
FH	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000		0.0		0.0	0	2	1.4	155	0.0	78
R400000 - R800000	3	11.5	1 800	3.5	600	6	4.1	4 110	1.2	685
R800000 - R1.5mil	6	23.1	7 880	15.2	1 313	27	18.2	33 675	10.0	1 247
R1.5mil - R3mil	15	57.7	32 205	62.0	2 147	94	63.5	209 485	62.5	2 229
Greater than R3mil	2	7.7	10 100	19.4	5 050	19	12.8	87 850	26.2	4 624
Total	26	100	51 985	100	1 999	148	100	335 275	100	2 265
SS	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000	1	7.1	380	2.8	380	5	6.4	1 405	2.0	281
R400000 - R800000	6	42.9	3 816	28.6	636	38	48.7	23 521	33.3	619
R800000 - R1.5mil	4	28.6	3 445	25.8	861	24	30.8	23 910	33.8	996
R1.5mil - R3mil	3	21.4	5 720	42.8	1 907	11	14.1	21 900	31.0	1 991
Greater than R3mil		0.0		0.0	0		0.0		0.0	0
Total	14	100	13 361	100	954	78	100	70 736	100	907
Totals Per Price band	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
R0 - R400000	5	11.1	1 660	2.4	332	13	5.4	3 430	0.8	264
R400000 - R800000	9	20.0	5 616	8.2	624	45	18.8	28 231	6.7	627
R800000 - R1.5mil	10	22.2	11 325	16.4	1 133	54	22.6	60 355	14.3	1 118

R1.5mil - R3mil	19	42.2	40 175	58.3	2 114	106	44.4	233 635	55.5	2 204
Greater than R3mil	2	4.4	10 100	14.7	5 050	21	8.8	95 365	22.7	4 541
Total Transfers	45	100	68 876	100	1 531	239	100	421 016	100	1 762

Growth and Activity

i The **Growth and Activity** graphs show the average price and total volume of sales in the estate by property type for recent years. Only properties which Lightstone classify as privately owned are used in these calculations and sales prices which are not in-line with market values for these properties are excluded from the analysis. This is done to arrive at a more accurate estimate of market value for properties within the estate. The information used in this analysis is updated on a monthly basis.

Average Price (R'000)



Number of Sales

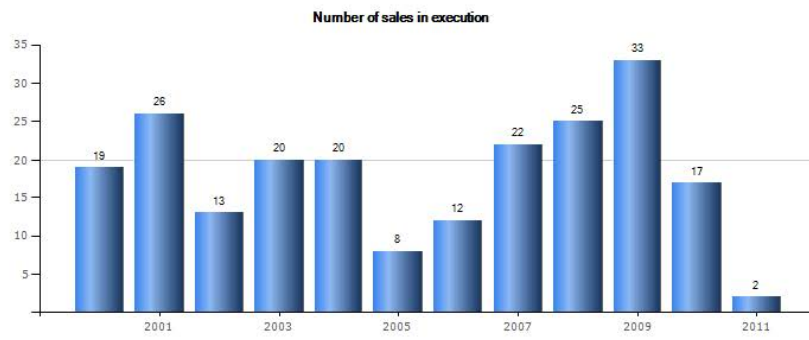


Total Value (R'000)



■ AvgPriceSS
 ■ NumberSS
 ■ TotValSS
 ■ AvgPriceFH
 ■ NumberFH
 ■ TotValFH

Sales In Execution



Suburb Ranking

i The **Suburb Ranking** tables enable users to identify those suburbs most similar in average price to the subject suburb. The ranking is provided against other suburbs in the municipality, province and country.

FREEHOLD

Nearest Suburb Ranking

	Suburb	Municipality	Province	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	FAIRLAND	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	421	R 2 269 427
VIEW	BERARIO	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	792	R 1 621 964
VIEW	VALERIEDENE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	314	R 2 537 000
VIEW	ALBERTSKROON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	2707	R 650 000
VIEW	POTCH OLD BOYS SPORTS CLUB	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	1297	R 1 213 836
VIEW	EAST TOWN	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	1646	R 1 020 833
VIEW	RISDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	664	R 1 784 173
VIEW	BLACKHEATH	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	160	R 3 279 462
VIEW	WATERVAL ESTATE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	1229	R 1 251 832
VIEW	NORTHCLIFF	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	315	R 2 533 896

National Ranking

Number of suburbs: 5339

	Suburb	Municipality	Province	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	THEEWATERSKLOOF	THEEWATERSKLOOF	WESTERN CAPE	310	R 2 543 354
VIEW	VICTORY PARK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	311	R 2 541 981
VIEW	ALBERANTE	EKURHULENI	GAUTENG	312	R 2 540 341
VIEW	BROOKLYN	CITY OF TSHWANE	GAUTENG	313	R 2 539 503
VIEW	VALERIEDENE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	314	R 2 537 000
VIEW	NORTHCLIFF	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	315	R 2 533 896
VIEW	HERMANUS HEIGHTS	OVERSTRAND	WESTERN CAPE	316	R 2 531 939
VIEW	BRENTON ON SEA	KNYSNA	WESTERN CAPE	317	R 2 527 304
VIEW	NAHOON BEACH	BUFFALO CITY	EASTERN CAPE	318	R 2 513 386
VIEW	HARBOUR ISLAND	CITY OF CAPE TOWN	WESTERN CAPE	319	R 2 512 460
VIEW	EVERSDAL HEIGHTS	CITY OF CAPE TOWN	WESTERN CAPE	320	R 2 508 960

Municipal Ranking

Number of suburbs: 594

	Suburb	Municipality	Province	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	DOUGLASDALE EXT 9	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	96	R 2 554 167
VIEW	PARKHURST	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	97	R 2 550 348
VIEW	PARKMORE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	98	R 2 543 421
VIEW	VICTORY PARK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	99	R 2 541 981
VIEW	VALERIEDENE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	100	R 2 537 000
VIEW	NORTHCLIFF	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	101	R 2 533 896
VIEW	KYALAMI GLEN	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	102	R 2 504 973
VIEW	WOODMEAD	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	103	R 2 466 650
VIEW	MOUNTAIN VIEW	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	104	R 2 459 184
VIEW	BRYANSTON EAST EXT 3	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	105	R 2 451 852
VIEW	BASSONIA ROCK	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	106	R 2 450 709

SECTIONAL SCHEME

National Ranking

Number of suburbs: 2081

	Suburb	Municipality	Province	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	GLENADRIENNE EAST	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	484	R 946 349
VIEW	HARTENBOS LANDGOED	MOSSEL BAY	WESTERN CAPE	485	R 946 262
VIEW	KYALAMI HILLS	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	486	R 944 230
VIEW	DE BRON	CITY OF CAPE TOWN	WESTERN CAPE	487	R 942 833
VIEW	MAGALIESSIG	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	488	R 942 617

VIEW	NORTHCLIFF	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	489	R 941 718
VIEW	ROSENDAL	CITY OF CAPE TOWN	WESTERN CAPE	490	R 939 601
VIEW	NEW BRIGHTON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	491	R 937 907
VIEW	VAN DER BUL PARK SW 5 EXT 5	EMPULENI	GAUTENG	492	R 937 200
VIEW	AERORAND	STEVE TSHWETE	MPUMALANGA	493	R 937 047
VIEW	WITSAND	HESSEQUIA	WESTERN CAPE	494	R 935 517

Municipal Ranking					Number of suburbs: 364
	Suburb	Municipality	Province	Rank	Average Valuation (R)
VIEW	FAIRMOUNT	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	98	R 962 292
VIEW	GLENVISTA	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	99	R 956 824
VIEW	GLENADRIENNE EAST	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	100	R 946 349
VIEW	KYALAMI HILLS	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	101	R 944 230
VIEW	MAGALIESIG	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	102	R 942 617
VIEW	NORTHCLIFF	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	103	R 941 718
VIEW	NEW BRIGHTON	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	104	R 937 907
VIEW	LONE HILL	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	105	R 930 942
VIEW	BORDEAUX	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	106	R 929 649
VIEW	OLIVEDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	107	R 914 764
VIEW	FORBESDALE	CITY OF JOHANNESBURG	GAUTENG	108	R 914 340

Bond Information Up to Sep 2012

i The **Bond Information** table shows the bonds registered in the suburb split into bond type (ordinary loan, further advance and switch) and institution. The registrations for both the last 3 months and the last 12 months are shown.

Deeds Office Information

Bond data	Last 3 Months (July 2012 to September 2012)					Last 12 Months (October 2011 to September 2012)				
	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
ORDINARY LOAN										
ABSA	5	13.5	4 630	9.1	926	22	11.8	31 975	10.3	1 453
FNB	5	13.5	8 140	16.0	1 628	59	31.6	105 336	33.8	1 785
INVESTEC	5	13.5	7 686	15.1	1 537	20	10.7	38 885	12.5	1 944
NEDBANK	8	21.6	14 856	29.1	1 857	24	12.8	36 892	11.9	1 537
OTHER	1	2.7	860	1.7	860	3	1.6	3 160	1.0	1 053
OTHER BANK	1	2.7	1 250	2.5	1 250	3	1.6	5 600	1.8	1 867
SAHL	3	8.1	1 400	2.8	467	9	4.8	8 340	2.7	927
SBSA	9	24.3	12 152	23.8	1 350	47	25.1	81 032	26.0	1 724
Total	37	100	50 973	100	1 378	187	100	311 219	100	1 664

FURTHER ADVANCE	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
ABSA		0.0		0.0	0	7	18.4	3 125	11.2	446
FNB	3	33.3	1 030	17.9	343	9	23.7	11 464	41.1	1 274
INVESTEC		0.0		0.0	0	3	7.9	1 250	4.5	417
NEDBANK	1	11.1	970	16.9	970	4	10.5	1 497	5.4	374
SAHL	1	11.1	300	5.2	300	1	2.6	300	1.1	300
SBSA	4	44.4	3 450	60.0	863	14	36.8	10 247	36.7	732
Total	9	100	5 750	100	639	38	100	27 883	100	734

SWITCH IN	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
ABSA		0.0		0.0	0	1	6.7	1 850	6.1	1 850
FNB		0.0		0.0	0	2	13.3	6 500	21.6	3 250
INVESTEC		0.0		0.0	0	2	13.3	3 530	11.7	1 765
NEDBANK		0.0		0.0	0	1	6.7	1 700	5.6	1 700

OTHER	1	33.3	3 000	58.8	3 000	2	13.3	3 835	12.7	1 918
SAHL		0.0		0.0	0	1	6.7	780	2.6	780
SBSA	2	66.7	2 100	41.2	1 050	6	40.0	11 947	39.6	1 991
Total	3	100	5 100	100	1 700	15	100	30 142	100	2 009

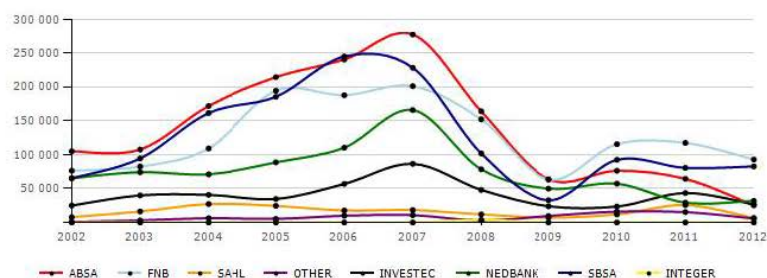
Bank Totals										
ABSA	5	10.2	4 630	7.5	926	30	12.5	36 950	10.0	1 232
FNB	8	16.3	9 170	14.8	1 146	70	29.2	123 300	33.4	1 761
INVESTEC	5	10.2	7 686	12.4	1 537	25	10.4	43 665	11.8	1 747
NEDBANK	9	18.4	15 826	25.6	1 758	29	12.1	40 089	10.9	1 382
OTHER	2	4.1	3 860	6.2	1 930	5	2.1	6 995	1.9	1 399
OTHER BANK	1	2.0	1 250	2.0	1 250	3	1.3	5 600	1.5	1 867
SAHL	4	8.2	1 700	2.7	425	11	4.6	9 420	2.6	856
SBSA	15	30.6	17 702	28.6	1 180	67	27.9	103 226	28.0	1 541
Total bonds registered	49	100	61 823	100	1 262	240	100	369 244	100	1 539

SWITCH OUT	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
ABSA	1	33.3	2 185	23.7	2 185	4	26.7	5 685	21.9	1 421
FNB	2	66.7	7 040	76.3	3 520	8	53.3	15 677	60.4	1 960
NEDBANK		0.0		0.0	0	1	6.7	770	3.0	770
SBSA		0.0		0.0	0	2	13.3	3 820	14.7	1 910
Total	3	100	9 225	100	3 075	15	100	25 952	100	1 730

BONDS CANCELLED	Count	%	Value	%	Avg	Count	%	Value	%	Avg
ABSA		0.0		0.0	0	1	50.0	1 670	20.4	1 670
FNB		0.0		0.0	0	1	50.0	6 500	79.6	6 500
Total	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	8 170	100	4 085

Lending By Institution (Values in R000)

The **Lending by Institution** graph shows the total bonds registered by bank and by year for recent years. Values in R000.



Amenities

i The **Amenities** listing shows the closest amenities to the subject property including the suburb they are in and distance from the subject property.

Type	Amenity
Hospital/Clinic	Johannesburg Eye Hospital
Hospital/Clinic	MediCross - Greymont
Hospital/Clinic	Greenlinks Municipal Clinic
Hospital/Clinic	Claremont Local Clinic
Hospital/Clinic	MediCross - Triomf Centre
PoliceStation	Police SAPS - Fairland
PoliceStation	Police SAPS - Sophiatown
PoliceStation	Police SAPS - Maraisburg
PoliceStation	Police SAPS - Linden
PrePrimarySchool	Northcliff Hill Nursery School
PrimarySchool	Northcliff Primary School
PrimarySchool	North West Primary School
SecondarySchool	Cliffview Secondary School
SecondarySchool	Northcliff High School
ShoppingCentre	El Corro Shopping Centre
ShoppingCentre	Mountain View Shopping Centre
ShoppingCentre	Los Arcos Shopping Centre
ShoppingCentre	Berario Shopping Centre
ShoppingCentre	Fairland Shopping Centre

Disclaimer

Please note that Lightstone obtains data from a broad range of 3rd party sources and – despite the application of proprietary data cleaning processes – cannot guarantee the accuracy of the information provided in this report. It is expressly recorded that information provided in this report is not intended to constitute legal, financial, accounting, tax, investment, consulting or other professional advice.
This report does not contain any confidential information relating to the property owner or any owners residing in the suburb. All bond, home loan and property registration information in the reports is from the Deeds Office where information on all property registrations, property transfers as well as all registered bonds / home loans are kept. This is public domain information and accessible by any person.

Explanatory Notes

The **Suburb Details** section shows a map with the outline of the suburb which assists the user in visually referencing the area.

The **Transfer Information** shows the number of property transfers for the suburb split into New (first time registrations) and Repeat sales. The new and repeat data is further split into free hold (FH), sectional scheme (SS) and Estates (EST) shown in a 3 month and 12 month view.

The **Suburb Trends** graphs show the average price and total volume of sales in the suburb by property type for the last 5 years.

The **Age of Residents** bar graph shows the age distribution of owners in the suburb and is split into residents and recent sellers.

The **Tenure of Owners** graph depicts the tenure of ownership in the suburb and is a measure of ownership stability.

The **Bond Information** table shows the bonds registered in the suburb split into bond type (ordinary loan, further advance and switch) and institution. The registrations for both the last 3 months and the last 12 months are shown.

The **Lending By Institution** graph shows the total bonds registered by bank by year for the past 7 years in the suburb.

The **Suburb Ranking** tables enable users to identify those suburbs most similar in average price to the subject suburb. The ranking is provided against other suburbs in the municipality, province and country.